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INDIAN ANTIQUITIES:

OR,

DISSERTATIONS,

RELATIVE TO

THE ANCIENT GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS,
THE PURE SYSTEM OF PRIMEVAL THEOLOGY,
THE GRAND CODE OF CIVIL LAWS,
THE ORIGINAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT,
THE WIDELY-EXTENDED COMMERCE, AND
THE VARIOUS AND PROFOUND LITERATURE,

OF HINDOSTAN:

COMPARED, THROUGHOUT, WITH THE
RELIGION, LAWS, GOVERNMENT, COMMERCE, AND
LITERATURE,

OF

PERSIA, EGYPT, AND GREECE.

THE WHOLE

Intended as Introductory to, and Illustrative of,

THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN,
UPON A COMPREHENSIVE SCALE.

VOL. VI.—PART I.

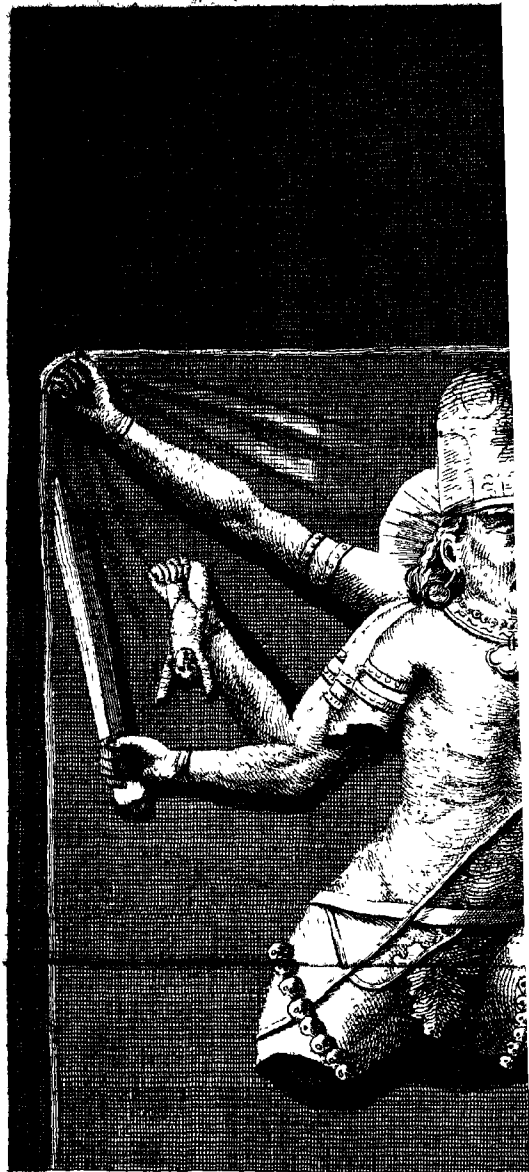
Containing DISSERTATIONS on the ORIGIN of the DRUIDS,
and the ANCIENT COMMERCE of HINDOSTAN.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR, No. 31, UPPER NORTON-
STREET, AND SOLD BY W. RICHARDSON, UNDER THE
ROYAL EXCHANGE.

M.DCC.XCVI.

ANTIEN SCULPTURE from



Representing the Evil Principle of
Sanguinary
To the Right Honourable House. 111

ANTIENT SCULPTURE from the ELEPHANTA CAVERN.



*Representing the Evil Principle of India and the Symbols of that
Sanguinary Worship.*

*To the Right Honourable Henry Addington, Speaker of the House of Commons,
this admirable proof of the Skill in Statuary of the Ancient Indians is gratefully
and respectfully inscribed by J. C. H.*

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND REVEREND

R O B E R T,

EARL OF HARBOROUGH,

THE CONCLUDING PORTION

OF THESE

INDIAN ANTIQUITIES,

THUS FAR ADVANCED TOWARDS MATURITY,

PRINCIPALLY UNDER

THE FOSTERING SMILE OF HIS LORDSHIP,

THE FRIEND OF TOILING SCIENCE,

IS, WITH THE SINCEREST GRATITUDE AND ATTACHMENT,

RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S

EVER OBLIGED AND FAITHFUL SERVANT,

THOMAS MAURICE.

P R E F A C E.

THE public voice having been for some time loud in its demand for the sixth and final volume of *Indian Antiquities*; and, finding myself at present utterly unable, as well from the untimely decease of the illustrious literary character who patronized and promoted my labours, as the delay of some books and manuscripts extremely important to me, which I expected from a learned friend in India, by the early ships of this season, to proceed in my *Dissertations on the Jurisprudence and Ancient Literature of India*; in order to demonstrate to my friends that neither my zeal has cooled, nor industry abated, I have resolved to divide that volume into two

parts, for the first of which I now respectfully solicit their accustomed indulgence. Conceiving myself entitled, by my original proposals, to select for discussion in these volumes any subject intimately connected with the *ANTIQUITIES OF INDIA*; and those deeper theological investigations which, I am concerned to find, have, in certain quarters, excited so much disgust, being now dismissed, I have endeavoured to relieve the gloom and weariness, too generally complained of as accompanying extensive religious disquisitions, however necessary and important, by seeking out such topics as might interest and entertain. To that end, as none, I presume, can be more gratifying to the general class of my readers than those that equally concern India and Britain, I have selected the venerable order of Druids, their doctrines, and rites, which have such an immediate and wonderful affinity with those of the Brahmins; and the ancient commerce of the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, and Greeks, carried on, prior to the
Christian

Christian æra, with India on the one hand, and Britain on the other, for their consideration in this first part of the final volume.

It was not my intention, indeed, in these Researches, to have descended to periods subsequent to that æra, but my gratitude to the Honourable Court of East-India Directors for their liberal patronage of the History of Hindostan, my anxious desire to make this work essentially useful to gentlemen going out in a commercial capacity to India, and the important circumstance of the revival, at the present day, of that particular branch of its traffic with the East, which rendered this island so celebrated in antiquity, I mean the TIN of the Cornish mines—a measure which reflects such honour both on the patriotism and wisdom of the Directors, and is of such material consequence, at this momentous crisis, by retaining so much bullion in the country, and giving bread to so many thousands of distressed miners: these united reasons have induced

induced me to deviate somewhat from my proposed plan, and to sketch out such a summary but clear view of the ancient and present commercial connection of Britain with India, as may prove at once gratifying to the scholar and useful to the merchant.

Notwithstanding, however, my utmost efforts to contract, without obscuring, this interesting subject, the field of retrospect is so vast, and the objects it displays are so numerous, so varied, so complicated, that I am reluctantly compelled to extend the survey to two Dissertations, the first only of which, tracing that commerce down to the conquest of Egypt by Augustus Cæsar, is here presented to the candid reader. The remaining Dissertation will precede, in the second part, the Dissertations on the Laws, Government, and Literature, of Hindostan, which, I trust, the arrival of the expected papers, by the latter fleet of this season, will enable me to complete and produce in the ensuing spring. I hope that none of
my

my readers will be so ungenerous as to impute to interested motives this farther delay and extension of the *Indian Antiquities*; for, I can assure them, from fatal experience, these are not times to engage, as I have done, in voluminous publication, at the sole hazard of the author; that a very large proportion of the fourth and fifth volumes, possibly on account of the subject, still remains unfold; and that, so far from wishing to extend, I have been long solicitous to terminate, this work, that my mind might be at liberty to pursue, without interruption, the important subject of the greater undertaking in which I have now embarked. No consideration, however, shall induce me to finish, in a hasty and incorrect manner, a production, which, with all its defects, (and what human work can boast perfection?) has been honoured with so respectable a number of subscribers, and with so flattering a portion of the public applause.

The Asiatic origin of the Druids has long been an acknowledged point in the world of antiquaries. Mr. Reuben Burrow, the great practical astronomer of India, was the first person, who, after a strict examination and comparison of their mythological superstitions and their periods, directly affirmed them to be a race of emigrated Indian philosophers.* The assertion, bold and unqualified as it was, made, at the time of my reading it, a considerable impression on my mind; and, in consequence, I sat down to that elaborate investigation of their rites and symbols, of which the prior Dissertation in this volume is the result.

The basis of my argument for their Indian extraction is, that the elder Buddha of India, who should never be confounded with the second Buddha, or Bedou, the Fo of the Chi-

* See Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 488, in the Appendix.

nese, and the founder of an atheistical sect, in periods far more recent, is, in fact, the Mercury of the West, and this is not only asserted by Sir William Jones, from the similitude of their rites and symbols, but can be astronomically proved; since, in India, the day of the week assigned to Buddha is by the Greeks assigned to Hermes, by the Romans to Mercury, and by the northern nations to Woden; being denominated, in the respective dialects of those nations, Boodh or Buddha-war, Ἑρμῆς ἡμέρα, Mercurii dies, Woden's day, and, from the last, corruptedly by us, Wednesday. The ancient MERCURIAL HEAPS, or CARNS, of those fire-adoring sages; their veneration for the CUBIC, the symbol of Mercury among the early Greeks; their representing the Deity in their immense groves under the form of the letter T, THAU, as the Egyptians designated their Thoth, or Hermes; their reverence for the ANGUINUM, or serpent-egg, which is only the mundane egg of Tyre, rendered prolific by the embrace of the

Αγαθοδαίμων,

Agathodaimon, or good genius, symbolized by that serpent; and, finally, the evident CADUCEUS of Mercury, designated in the globe, wings, and serpent, that formed their grand temple at Abury, and not only that but other conspicuous DRACONTIA, in Britain: all these circumstances enumerated, and fully discussed in the course of the Dissertation alluded to, are to myself abundant testimony of their connection with, if not descent from, Buddha. Under this appellation I contend must be understood some deified prince of the family of the Noachidæ, a distinguished AVATAR of India, the eighth in order from the Matsya, or Fish-God, incontestibly NOAH, (whether Mr. Bryant's most elaborate volumes be consulted, or my own humbler historical details,) who, in the lofty regions of the Tauric range, the remotest from the danger of inundation, but in æras to which regular annals cannot be expected to ascend, seems to have established an empire and a religion, which diffused their combined influence over every region of the
Higher

Higher Asia, and many evident vestiges of which are still visible. Among these are the Thibetian rolls inscribed with Sanscreeet characters, alluded to by Sir William Jones, in page 31,* as well as the ancient medals and imperial signets engraved with Thibetian characters, mentioned by Mr. Halhed,† and the frequent pilgrimages at this day undertaken by the more rigid devotees of India, from the banks of the Ganges and the most distant provinces of the Peninsula, to the territories of the Grand Lama. Accurately to ascertain, at this distant period, the *cause*, the *mode*, the *time*, of this emigration exceeds the limit of human research: but possibly the first may be found in the general causes of emigration, curiosity, persecution, or the ambition, of men, who, in those early ages, combined a sort of *regal* with the *priestly* character. The *mode* was, doubtless, by land-journies, in company

* Of the present volume.

† See the Preface to Mr. Halhed's Sanscreeet Grammar, p. 5.

with the Celtic tribes, previous to the establishment of the great Indian empire and system of jurisprudence which forbade emigration, in the more southern provinces; or allowing the early branches of the family of Noah for the purpose of effecting the gracious designs of Providence in peopling the earth to have had a knowledge of the MAGNET, by the way of the great Ocean itself. The *period* was, probably, when the true religion began to be corrupted, but before its *total* corruption, by the Sabian idolatries. In this view the matter appears to myself; if all my readers should not be equally convinced by the arguments which I have been able to produce, I still flatter myself, that the detail of many other curious facts which nearly concern them, as Britons, may yet amply reward them for the trouble of perusal.

I think it absolutely necessary, however, to shield myself from censure, for so warmly espousing an opinion that must appear entirely

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ly novel, if not extremely eccentric, to readers not conversant in Indian manners and history, by laying before them the following short extracts from the Dissertation of Mr. Burrow, before alluded to, in the Asiatic Researches, although I am far from esteeming it equally necessary to adopt his hypothesis of the alteration of the place of the *equator*, connected with the asserted migration. I have endeavoured to support his positions by arguments not hostile to religion, and far less violent to nature. “ From the aforesaid country, (he means Siberia, rendered habitable and fertile by the equatorial line passing through the centre of Asia,) the Hindoo religion probably spread over the whole earth: there are signs of it in every northern country, and in almost every system of worship: IN ENGLAND IT IS OBVIOUS; STONE-

HENGE IS EVIDENTLY ONE OF THE TEMPLES OF BOODH; and the arithmetic, astronomy, astrology; the HOLIDAYS, GAMES, names of the stars, and figures of the constellations ;

the ANCIENT MONUMENTS, LAWS, and COINS; the LANGUAGES of the different nations; bear the strongest marks of the same original." Again he observes, on the supposition that the Indians were, in the infancy of their existence as a nation, divided into the two great sects of Brahma and Buddha, "that the Brahmins were the true authors of the Ptolemaic system, and the Boodhists of the Copernican,* as well as of the doctrine of attraction, and that probably the established religion of the Greeks; and the Eleusinian mysteries were only varieties of the two different sects." Amongst other circumstances, he tell us, that he compared an astrolabe in the Nagari (the oldest Sanscreeet) character of India, with Chaucer's description of one, and found them to agree together most minutely; even the centre-pin, which Chaucer calls the horse, "having *a horse's head* upon the instrument:" and, after acquainting us that

* See page 241 of this volume, on the Druids' presumed knowledge of the elliptical courses of the orbs.

he meant shortly to enter into a full investigation of the question, he finally gives it as his own decided opinion, that “ THE DRUIDS WERE BRAHMINS.”*

The death of this ingenious gentleman in India prevented the completion of his engagement, and the present is only a humble effort, made amidst the pressure of illness, and other weightier pursuits, to fill up some of the outlines of his projected plan.

I embrace this opportunity of informing the subscribers to the History of India, in quarto, that I am making as rapid a progress in that work as the nature of the subject, and the increased difficulty of obtaining genuine materials, since the ever to be lamented decease of Sir William Jones, will allow; but, at present, I dare not mention any particular period for its appearance. When the second

* Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 489, Calcutta quarto edition.

part of this volume shall be published, and this work be finally concluded, I hope to be able to give the public more certain information on that point; to fix that period, and be punctual to it.

My most sincere and grateful acknowledgements are due, and are hereby respectfully returned to various right reverend, noble, and other distinguished personages, who, knowing the difficulties attending so extensive a work as that in which I am engaged, particularly in the article of books, of the most expensive species, as connected with antiquary research, and engravings so indispensably necessary in all mythological details, have endeavoured, by their liberality, to mitigate those expenses, and alleviate the embarrassments attendant on a contracted income. Through these means much has been done by the toil of a zealous individual; but far more remains yet to be done: and I should be concerned, that the second volume of ancient Indian History, which
will

will be *final*, and bring that history down to the death of Aurungzebe, at the commencement of this century, should be inferior in point of magnitude and elegance to the former. Having, therefore, returned to Norton-street, whence indisposition, brought on by severe application, has compelled my absence during the greater part of the present year, I shall continue to receive subscriptions for that work till the ensuing May, when the list of names must go to the press; and also the following bankers, my subscribers and friends, have done me the favour to permit subscriptions to be received at their houses: — Messrs. HAMMERSLEY's and Co. Pall-Mall, and Messrs. STEPHENSON's and Co. N°. 69, Lombard-street.

No. 31, Upper Norton-Street,

December 1, 1796.

A DISSER-

A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

INDIAN ORIGIN OF THE DRUIDS;

AND ON THE

STRIKING AFFINITY

WHICH THE

RELIGIOUS RITES AND CEREMONIES,

ANCIENTLY PRACTISED IN THE BRITISH ISLANDS,

BORE TO THOSE

OF THE BRAHMINS.

A

DISSERTATION, &c.

SECTION I.

The Author unfolds his Design in this Essay.—

The immense Extent of the ancient Indian Empire; and the wide Diffusion of the Indian Mythology and Sciences throughout Asia.—

The geographical Limits of the not less extensive Region of Scythia.—These two mighty Nations, the Indians and Persians being throughout considered as one People, possessed the greater Part of Asia: the Indians, from the earliest Periods, a polished Race; the Scythians, ever Barbarians.—Escaped from the Horrors of the general Deluge, the Noachidæ, who settled in Asia, inhabited the Regions nearest the great Range of Taurus. In the Median Mountains, and near the Heights of Caucasus, were established,

blished, in Caverns, their first Schools. The Colleges of Naugracut and Thibet, in the North of India, particularly famous. From thence emigrated into Tartary successive Colonies of Priests professing the Religion of Buddha, or Boodh, who was the Hermes, or Mercury, of the Western, and the Woden of the Northern, World. The Japhetic Tribes, described generally under the Names of Scythian and Celtic, straitened for Room and Pasturage, pursue their Direction through the Northern Asia, emigrate to Europe, and with them those Sages of the Indian Schools, to whom we give the Name of Druids.— Some remarkable Instances adduced of the striking Affinity existing between the primæval Languages of Asia and those spoken in Europe, particularly in the British Isles.

MY intention, in the following Dissertation, is to prove, as far as the remoteness of the æra alluded to, and the abstruse nature of the subjects discussed in the course of it will allow of proof, that the celebrated order of Druids, anciently established

in this country, were the immediate descendants of a tribe of Brahmins situated in the high northern latitudes bordering on the vast range of Caucasus: that these, during that period of the Indian empire when its limits were most extended in Asia, mingling with the Celto-Scythian tribes, who tenanted the immense deserts of Grand Tartary, became gradually incorporated, though not confounded, with that ancient nation; introduced among them the rites of the Brahmin religion, occasionally adopting those of the Scythians, and, together with them, finally emigrated to the western regions of Europe.

To form any correct notion of the extent of the Indian empire, when in its glory, we must consult the Sanscreeet geographers, and take our survey of a country comprising an area of near forty degrees on each side, and including a space almost as large as all Europe; a region divided on the west from Persia by the Arachosian mountains, limited on the east by the Chinese part of the farther peninsula, confined on the north by the wilds of Tartary, and extending on the south as far as the isles of Java. The above is the demarcation of the ancient limits of India by an author not likely
to

to have erred in defining them; and this trapezium, he goes on to observe, comprehends the stupendous hills of Tibet, the beautiful valley of Cashmir, and all the domains of the old Indo-Scythians, the countries of Nepal and Bootan, Camrup or Asam, together with Siam, Ava, Racan, and the bordering kingdoms, as far as the China of the Hindoos, or Sin of the Arabian geographers; not to mention the whole western peninsula with the celebrated island of Sinalala, or Lion-like men, at its southern extremity.*

If the period above-mentioned, remote as it is, should not be thought sufficiently distant in the annals of time for the first migration of the Asiatic colonies, and the earliest importation into the western world of the religious rites in use among them, we have it in our power, through the same authentic channel,† to penetrate to the very birth of civil establishments, and find the primæval ancestors of the Hindoos sitting, in patriarchal majesty, upon the throne of Iran, or Persia, in the very

* See Sir William Jones, in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. p. 419.

† See the *Dissertation on the Persians*, *ibid.* p. 43.

centre of all Asia, under the title of the Mahabadian dynasty, founded by the renowned Maha-Beli, or Great Belus, and from which they afterwards migrated to regions nearer the rising sun. This great extent in ancient periods of the Indian empire, and the prevalence of the Indian sciences and mythology over the greater part of that vast continent, cannot be more decisively proved than by the following remarks extracted from Mr. Halhed, to whom those sciences and that mythology, as well as their languages, are so familiarly known.

It is a very generally received maxim, that the wide diffusion of any particular language evinces the superiority in power and consequence of the nation with whom that language originated. Now Mr. Halhed asserts the Sanscreeet, or ancient language of India, generally spoken before the invasion of Alexander, to be a language of the most venerable and profound antiquity; the grand source as well as sacred repository of Indian literature, and the parent of almost every dialect, from the Persian Gulph to the China Sea. He is even of opinion, that the Sanscreeet was, in ancient periods, current not only over ALL INDIA, considered in its largest extent, but
over

over ALL THE ORIENTAL WORLD, and that traces of its original and general diffusion may still be discovered in almost every region of Asia. In the course of Mr. Halhed's various reading, (and few men have perused more Oriental volumes,) he was astonished to find the similitude which it in many instances bore to the Chaldaic, Persian, and Arabic. He discovered the visible traces of its character, that character which he describes to be so curious in its structure and so wonderful in its combination, on the most ancient medals and imperial signets of Eastern kingdoms; and he hints that it might have been the original language of the earth.*

If the bounds of ancient India were thus large, not less so were those of ancient Scythia, for they extended from Caucasus to the borders of the Arctic circle, a tract including the vast plains of Tartary, the deserts of Siberia, and Asiatic Russia: yet through all this immense region no genuine vestiges of arts and sciences flourishing among them are clearly to be traced, notwithstanding the boasted

* See the very elegant and learned preface to that Grammar, P 5.

discoveries of some eminent modern antiquaries. Among these, stands foremost the celebrated M. Bailli, who endeavours to prove, in a treatise *On the Origin of the Sciences in Asia*, that a nation of profound wisdom, of elevated genius, and of antiquity far superior even to the Egyptians, Indians, and Chinese, once inhabited the deserts of Siberia, and from the cold and barren region of SELINGINSKOE, in the fiftieth degree of north latitude, propagated throughout the world the first rudiments of the sciences, particularly astronomy. He labours to demonstrate that some celebrated discoveries in astronomy could only have taken place in the high northern latitudes of Asia; that most of the ancient mythologic fables of Asia, considered in a physical sense, have relation to the northern parts of our globe; and that arts and improvement progressively travelled from the polar regions to those of the equator. This learned primitive, but long-extinct, race of Scythian philosophers, for whose existence neither history nor tradition, but certain fanciful conjectures of the author, are alone brought in evidence, M. Bailli supposes to have been the masters of the Brahmins of India, but certainly erroneously;

neously; for their known pride and self-importance would never permit them to submit to be taught by the sages of any nation; much less by a race of men, whom they ever considered as barbarians, and inhabiting what they thought the extremities of the world. From these positive and categorical assertions of Bailli, let us attend a better judge of the matter, Sir W. Jones, who, in his dissertation upon the ancient hordes that peopled the vast extent of northern Asia, describes them in general as a race of undisciplined savages, without the polish of arts, and without even the advantage of letters. As the subject has been little canvassed, and never before in so masterly and decided a manner, the reader will be easily induced to pardon my presenting him with the substance of what he has said on this point in his Essay on the Tartars.

“ TARTARY, which contained, according to PLINY, an innumerable multitude of nations, by whom the rest of Asia and all Europe has, in different ages, been over-run, is denominated, as various images have presented themselves to various fancies, the great hive of the northern swarms, the nursery of irresistible legions, and, by a stronger metaphor, the foundery

foundery of the human race; but M. BAILLI, a wonderfully ingenious man, and a very lively writer, seems first to have considered it as the cradle of our species, and to have supported an opinion, that the whole ancient world was enlightened by sciences brought from the most northern parts of Scythia, particularly from the banks of the Jenisea, or from the Hyperborean regions: all the fables of old Greece, Italy, Persia, India, he derives from the north; and it must be owned, that he maintains his paradox with acuteness and learning. Great learning and great acuteness, together with the charms of a most engaging style, were indeed necessary to render even tolerable a system which places an earthly paradise, the gardens of Hesperus, the islands of the Macares, the groves of Elysium, if not of Eden, the heaven of INDRA, the Peristan, or fairy-land, of the Persian poets, with its city of diamonds and its country of Shadcam, so named from Pleasure and Love, not in any climate which the common sense of mankind considers as the seat of delights, but beyond the mouth of the Oby in the Frozen Sea, in a region equalled only by that, where the wild imagination of DANTE led him to fix the worst

worst of criminals in a state of punishment after death, and of which he could not, he says, even think without shivering.

“ In truth, our first inquiry, concerning the languages and letters of the Tartars, presents us with a deplorable void, or with a prospect as barren and dreary as that of their deserts. The Tartars had no literature; (in this point all authorities appear to concur;) the Turks had no letters; the Huns, according to PROCOPIUS, had not even heard of them; the magnificent CHENGIZ, whose empire included an area of near eighty square degrees, could find none of his own MONGALS, as the best authors inform us, able to write his dispatches; and TAIMUR, a savage of strong natural parts, and passionately fond of hearing histories read to him, could himself neither write nor read.

“ Of any philosophy, except natural ethics, which the rudest society requires and experience teaches, we find no more vestiges in Asiatic Tartary and Scythia, than in ancient Arabia; nor would the name of a philosopher and a Scythian have been ever connected, if Anacharsis had not visited Athens and Lydia for that instruction which his birth-place could

could not have afforded him. But ANACHAR-SIS was the son of a Grecian woman, who had taught him her language, and he soon learned to despise his own. He was unquestionably a man of a sound understanding and fine parts; and among the lively sayings which gained him the reputation of a wit even in Greece, it is related by DIOGENES LAERTIUS, that when an Athenian reproached him with being a Scythian, he answered, ‘My country is indeed a disgrace to me, but thou art a disgrace to thy country.’

“ Had the religious opinions and allegorical fables of the Hindoos, as M. Bailli, and after him M. D’Ancarville and others, have asserted, been actually borrowed from Scythia, travellers must have discovered in that country some ancient monuments of them, such as pieces of grotesque sculpture, images of the Gods and Avatars, and inscriptions on pillars or in caverns, analogous to those which remain in every part of the western peninsula, or to those which many of us have seen in Bahar and at Banaras; but (except a few detached idols) the only great monuments of Tartarian antiquity are a line of ramparts on the west and east of the Caspian, ascribed indeed
by

by ignorant Muselmans to YAJUJ and MAJUJ, or Gog and Magog, that is to the Scythians, but manifestly raised by a very different nation, in order to stop their predatory inroads through the passes of Caucasus.

“ From ancient monuments, therefore, we have no proof that the Tartars were themselves well instructed, much less that they instructed the world; nor have we any stronger reason to conclude, from their general manners and character, that they had made an early proficiency in arts and sciences: even of poetry, the most universal and most natural of the fine arts, we find no genuine specimens ascribed to them, except some horrible war-songs, expressed in Persian by ALI OF YEZD, and possibly invented by him. After the conquest of Persia by the Mongals, their princes, indeed, encouraged learning, and even made astronomical observations at Samarkand; and, like the Turks, became polished by mixing with the Persians and Arabs, though their very nature, as one of their own writers confesses, had before been like an incurable distemper, and their minds clouded with ignorance. Thus also the Manchu monarchs of China have been patrons of the learned and ingenious;

ous; and the Emperor TIENLONG is, if he be now living, a fine Chinese poet. In all these instances the Tartars have resembled the Romans; who, before they had subdued Greece, were little better than tigers in war, and fauns or sylvans in science and art." — Sir W. Jones's Essay on the Tartars, in Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 223.

Thus far Sir W. Jones, who investigated this argument of M. Bailli in a region of Asia not very remote from the ancient residence of the vaunted race who were the objects of his panegyric. In truth, the people, to whom M. Bailli's description is most applicable, are the northern progeny of Brahmins settled near the Caucasus, and in Thibet, where very celebrated colleges of learned Indians were anciently established, particularly at Naugracut and Cashmere; in which latter region it is supposed very considerable treasures of ancient Sanscreeet literature are deposited, which have not yet been examined. Indeed, in express confirmation that the Brahmins, and consequently the sciences of India, have not *always* flourished in a situation so immediately southern, as of late æras they have chosen, I am able, upon the high authority of Mr.

Hastings,

Hastings, to assert that an immemorial tradition prevails at Benares, *that they originally came from a region situated in forty degrees of northern latitude.*

In addition to the assertion of Sir W. Jones, cited above, that the ancient inhabitants of Scythia were little better than savages, without science and without even the advantage of a written language, though the dialects spoken among them were almost as numerous as their tribes, we are favoured with the following important intelligence, so directly elucidatory as well as corroborative of the hypothesis on which this Dissertation is founded. After acquainting us that the character of Tibet is evidently Indian, and that the Brahmin religion has immemorially flourished in that region, he asserts that the priests of Buddha have been found settled even in Siberia, (of which indeed the famous medal found amidst the ruins of a Siberian temple, and engraved in the fifth volume of Indian Antiquities, is an unequivocal proof,) and that rolls of Thibetian (that is, Indian) writing have been brought even from the borders of the Caspian. Admitting that these priests of Buddha, using the Indian letters and versed in the

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the sacred and civil institutes of Brahma, had travelled thus far, it cannot be thought improbable that, with the colonies which emigrated from northern Asia into the west, many of these priests might have mingled, and thus wafted into Europe, much of the theology, jurisprudence, and manners, of the Indian nation. But the hypothesis for which I contend in reality rests upon a firmer basis than probable conjecture; and the series of historical evidence by which it is supported shall be progressively detailed.

Before we proceed farther, however, in this investigation, it is necessary that we should attend to the history and situation of their Celtic brethren, for they were equally descendants of Gomer, the great progenitor of this northern race; and as, in a Dissertation like the present, *nice* disquisitions concerning the subordinate divisions of that primæval tribe are out of the question, or, at least, are of no immediate importance in the survey of the very early periods to which I allude, I shall consider them all as one great family; and, with Strabo, apply the general name of Scythians and Celto-Scythians to the first colonies who emigrated from Asia into Europe.

It

It is sufficient for me to admit, in this place, that the Celts were the *elder* branch of that family. The difference contended for seems principally to arise from their situation, which was more remote from the central spot whence the whole renovated race of man diverged in various directions.

That central spot was, doubtless, the great Tauric range round whose stupendous eminencies it was natural for a race, recently escaped from the horrors of a general inundation, to plant themselves. While the progeny of Shem gradually diffused themselves thence over the warm southern regions of Asia, and one mighty branch of the family of Ham emigrated to Africa, the descendants of Japhet directed their course northwards, branching out widely, at the same time, towards the East and West quarters of that northern district. The promise made to Japhet was, that his borders should be enlarged, and the isles of the Gentiles, by which the commentators generally understand Europe, be divided among his posterity. In consequence, it may be supposed, and history asserts, that their numbers multiplied in a far greater proportion than their brethren. In the course of their national

increase, straitened for room and distressed by want of pasturage for the immense flocks necessary for their support, this elder and nobler branch of the Japhetic tribe moved still farther and farther off from the neighbourhood of the Caucasus, and gradually peopled, first the whole north of Asia, and then Europe, where they gradually established themselves from the banks of the Danube to the pillars of Hercules; that is, of their first conductor, whosoever he was, to the celebrated Straits, thus denominated. The exact period in which the Scythian Nomades began thus to move forward from the mountains to the north of Persia and India, it is scarcely possible to ascertain with precision, but we may, without any violation of probability, allow it to have taken place a century after the dispersion from Babel; by which time, it may be supposed, the pure patriarchal worship became deeply polluted by the introduction of multifold idolatry, and that astronomy, which, we learn from Calisthenes, began to be formed into a system at Babylon 1903 years before its capture by Alexander, had extensively introduced into the theological rites of Asia the splendid
 Sabian

Sabian superstition, or worship of the host of Heaven.

That the British isles were in reality first peopled by those Gomerian, or Celtic, tribes, which, in the very early ages after the dispersion, spread themselves through Europe, is not only evident from the most authentic history of those tribes extant, but from the very strong affinity in manners, language, and religious rites, existing between that northern nation and the ancient inhabitants of this country. The subject of the striking similitude apparent in their ancient customs and religious ceremonies shall hereafter be discussed at large. In regard to similarity of language, I must observe, that the very name of their great ancestor, variously changed into Comarian, Cimmerian, Cymbrian, or Cumbrian, is to be traced wheresoever that colony passed, along the whole line of their descent from the regions of the Northern Asia; even from the *Cymbrian* Chersonese to the loftiest of our *Cumbrian* mountains. The towering *pens*, or heads, of the Welch mountains, not less than the mighty *Appenines* of the continent, proclaim this truth; and the Alps and Albion alike prove themselves to be thus denominated

from the Celtic *Alp*, or *Alb*, signifying white, in allusion to the eternal snows on the summit of the former, and the white cliffs that encompass the latter. Indeed, as we advance in this Dissertation, no inconsiderable testimony will be found to arise, from the survey, of the derivation of all languages from one primæval tongue, as well as of all nations from one great family. The monumental remains connected with the most ancient system of Asiatic mythology, yet existing in the two countries under consideration, and the intimate mixture in both languages of terms radically Hebrew, added to the circumstance of traditions in both countries uniformly pointing to one great founder, who flourished between four and five thousand years ago, will, of themselves, go far towards proving these assertions concerning their identity, and their having originated from one common stock.

A celebrated grammarian has remarked, *Nec modo Indicam, Persicam, Syram, Arabicam, Hebræ junctissimas linguas; sed et Gothicam, seu Celticam, linguam*;* and Rowland, in his *Mona*, asserts, that no less than three hundred Hebrew *radices* are to be found in the

* *Franciscus Junius Præfat. Grammat. p. 19.*

British tongue alone.* From his list I shall select a few only which must carry conviction of their primæval derivation. For instance, who can doubt of the British word *Booth*, *a cottage*, being derived from the Hebrew *BETH*, *a house*; the *earth*, from *ERETZ*; *to babble*, from *BABEL*, alluding to the confusion of tongues; *CIST*, from *CIS*, *a chest*; *DAGGAR*, from *DAKAR*, *a short sword*; the British *KERN*, or *CORN*, *a born*, from *KEREN*; *CROMLECH*, *a sacrificial stone* of the Druids, from *CÆREM-LUACH*, *a burning stone*; and *SARPH*, an old British word for *serpent*, from the Hebrew *SARAPH*. These, and a great variety of other terms, there enumerated, though coming to us more immediately through a Celtic or Gaulic medium, it is impossible to deny, must have a radical connection with the sacred dialect.

Of the preceding assertion made by the grammarian Junius, viz. that of Hebrew, or the old Syrian, being radically interwoven in all the Eastern tongues, very decided and numerous instances may be found so far as regards the Persians and Arabians, in Walton's Preface to his Polygott, and so far as the

* See Rowland's *Mona Antiqua*, p. 278.

Phœnicians and their Assyrian neighbours are concerned throughout the whole of Bochart's Phaleg. With respect to the Indian or Sanscreeet language, though hitherto very little investigated, we find the traces of it in the very name of their first grand deity Brahma, the Creator, which is, doubtless, connected with, if not immediately derived from, the Hebrew Bra, or Bara, *created*, occurring in the first verse of Genesis, BERESCHITH BRA ELOHIM, *In the beginning God created*. Also in their great divinity, Isa, the goddess Nature personified, we find the Hebrew Ichsa, *the first existent*, or *grand parent*, which the Rabbins assert to have been the original name of Eve, the great mother of mankind, and, probably, the genuine Isis of the Egyptians; at least such is Stillingfleet's very rational conjecture.* Surya, the Sun, that object of supreme reverence in India, has probably very near affinity to the Suria of the Chaldaic, a language which some eminent critics conceive to be the most ancient dialect of the Hebrews; and when it is considered, that in Suria, or Syria, was first practised the Sabian superstition; that the Egyptians, according to Euse-

* See Stillingfleet's *Origines Sacrae*, 1^a, 551.

bis, called Osiris, Surlus; and that, in Persia, Sure was the old name of the Sun; the supposition may be thought to approach near upon certainty.

The Hebrew word RACHAV, *great and powerful*, may be radically connected with the Sanscreeet *Rajah*. In Celtic, *Orch*, *Arch*, and *Rich*, derived from the same root, are used as initials or terminations to names of distinguished eminence; and here we find the probable etymon of the Greek terms *αρχη* and *αρχων*, *chief* or *governor*. We are certain, however, that the ancient name of that race of kings, written in Sanscreeet *Roy*, bears as near affinity to the Gaulic *Roi*, as that of *Ranna*, a race of Indian queens, to the Spanish *Renna*, and the Gaulic *Rein*; both used in exactly the same signification, though in countries so extremely remote from each other.

It is remarkable, that the Sanscreeet word GATE, or GAUT, *a barrier or passage*, is to be found in the same sense in Ramsgate as in Balagate, and the most natural derivation I know for the word Age, is the Sanscreeet Yug, or Period.

The term DIV, in Welch, God, and in Cornish, DIV, is the very same word used in

India for the celestial deities, who are called Dives and Devatas ; and the reader's surprize will, perhaps, be not a little excited, when I inform him that Colonel Vallancey, well known for his researches into old Irish literature, told Sir William Jones, that Crishna, the name of the Indian Apollo, is actually an old Irish word for the SUN.* It will not less excite that surprize to hear, that, according to Dr. Parsons, in his *Remains of Japhet*,† Colonel Grant was enabled, solely by his knowledge of the old Irish language, to decipher the Thibetian characters on the Siberian medal above alluded to, and the explanation of which was given in the *Indian Antiquities*.

Baal, or Ecl, seems to have been equally known as an appellative of the Sun in Britain as in Asia ; for Toland, in his *History of the Druids*, (and the fact has been since confirmed to me by intelligent natives, as well of South as North Britain,) tells us, that the fires which flamed on May-eve at the top of the ancient Carns, or Druid-heaps of stone, in

* Consult *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 262.

† See *Parsons's Remains of Japhet*, p. 186.

honour of the Sun, were called BEALTINE, or the fires of Belus.* The term DRUID itself is, doubtless, derived from the Celtic Dru, or Deru, an oak; and it is remarkable, that, in Welch, Deruen and Derwen still preserve the same signification. These particular appellations immediately direct our attention to the Sanscreeet name of the old Brahmins, of the forest of Gandharvas, which occurs so often in the Sacontala. "Who, like the choleric DERVASAS, has power to consume, like raging fire, whatever offends him?" The Dervish of the East, therefore, and the Druid of the West, are the same character, under names but little varied. Indeed Keyser expressly affirms this; *Sacerdotum genus apud Turcas ab antiquissimis temporibus conservatum Dervis, et nomine et re DRUIDIS.*†

The Auruna, also, or day-star of the Indians, like the god Horus, or light personified of the Egyptians, may be without violence derived from the Hebrew AUR, *lux*, or, if the reader pleases, from OR, *gold*. Adam, the great progenitor of mankind, in Sir William Jones's

* Toland's History of the Druids, p. 67.

† Keyser's Antiquit. Septentrion. p. 36.

opinion, may be found in the Sanscreeet Adim, the first; and Nuh, or Noah, is plainly recognized in their celebrated Menu, who, after the flood, repeopled the renovated world. In fact, the name and history of Noah and of his three sons are precisely the same in the Sanscreeet as the Hebrew Bible. In the ancient geographical records of India, we find the whole country denominated after Cush, the eldest son of Ham, its domestic appellation being Cussha-Dweepa, and we know that the inhabitants of the northern district were anciently called Cuthæi. We find again Raa-mah, the fourth son of that Cush, in the Indian Rama, renowned first as a conqueror, and afterwards as a god, throughout the whole extent of that vast region; and we discover his last son Nimrod, or Belus, in their Bali, the Baal and Bel of their neighbours. A very great variety of similar instances, not only in the way of striking etymological deduction, but of direct identity in person and character, between the ancient heroes of these respective nations, will hereafter be noticed by me, if not in these pages, at least in the greater historical work, which these various Dissertations are intended to illustrate.

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At present, let us return to Britain, and confine our inquiry to the ancient name of these islands, a subject concerning which, two very celebrated writers, Camden and Bochart, have advanced very opposite opinions. Opposite, however, as these opinions apparently are, they may both have for their support a certain degree of truth.

Camden contends, that Britain was so called from *brith*, a Celtic word, signifying *painted*; and *tain*, or *tan*, a *region*. If Camden be right in the former part of this assertion, in the preceding volumes of the Indian Antiquities sufficient evidence may be found that he is so as to the latter part of it. In the first, or geographical, Dissertation, in particular, I had occasion to remark, that, in Persian, *istan*, or *stan*, was the name of a land, or region, as for instance, in Chuzistan, the region of Cush; in Hindostan, the region of the Hindoos; in Multan, or Mallitan, a province on the Indus, and meaning the country anciently possessed by the Malli. This term, therefore, of Persian original, was brought by the Celtic colonies into these western regions, and thus Britain, according to this writer, is the country of the Brith, or painted people,

people, from which circumstance, probably, in succeeding times, the same nation came to be denominated by the Romans, who translated the term, *Piċti*, the *Piċts*, or *painted people*.—The learned Bochart, however, whose studies were directed to the investigation of Phœnician Antiquities, with great ingenuity, and very consistently with the hypothesis laid down in his *Phaleg*, derives the name Britain from Baratanac, the *land of tin*; and as that was a commodity for which these islands were celebrated in the Asiatic world, it is by no means improbable, that the Phœnicians, who traded to this part of the world to obtain it, knew the island by that name. The Greeks afterwards, treading in the commercial steps of that industrious and adventurous race, called it after them *Βρετανική*, whence Britain. It is natural to suppose, that the production for which an island was famous should give its name to the country that produced it, especially among a nation devoted to commerce, and who probably knew nothing of the people, or the island beyond the coast where the mines were wrought, or the provinces immediately adjoining. The Romans, whose aim in sailing hither was conquest rather than commerce, principally

principally attended to the people, and imposed a name somewhat conformable to their national habits, and adapted to display their ruling propensity.

SECTION II.

One great Tribe of the ancient Indian Nation, being the immediate Progeny of Cush, was called Cuthæi, and their Descendants brought into Britain the Cuthite Superstitions. — A brief Summary of those Superstitions as anciently practised in the British Isles. — Those Superstitions exhibit many evident Remains of the pure patriarchal Theology, blended with the Corruptions of the Sabian Idolatry. — A more particular Account of the Indian God Buddha, the Hermes of Egypt, and the Mercury of the West. — The Assyrian and Indian Belus the true Hercules of Antiquity, and the God Belen of the Druids proved to be so by their BEAL-TINE, or Fires lighted in Honour of Baal. — Various Eastern characteristic Designations and Symbols of Mercury, discovered in Britain. —

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The Woden's Day, or Dies Mercurii, of the Northern and Western Nations, the Dies Boodh of India. — Cubical Statues and Mercurial Heaps. — The letter THAU. — The Harp of the Druids. — The Lyre of Hermes, &c. &c. — The FIRST OF APRIL, an ancient Indian Festival. — The FIRST OF MAY, or the Day on which the Sun enters the Bull, an ancient Phallic Festival immemorially preserved in the East. — Relics of these Festivals, and the Sports practised on them, still preserved in Britain. — An extensive Parallel drawn between the religious Rites and civil Customs anciently prevalent in India, Britain, and the Northern Empires of Europe.

AFTER the general introductory remarks in the preceding section, connected with etymology and history, we are now about to enter on the investigation of more important points, and to consider THE REMAINS OF THE CUTHITE, OR ANCIENT INDIAN, WORSHIP IN THE BRITISH ISLANDS.

I have before observed, that a part of the Indian nation were anciently called Cuthæi, a name assuredly derived from their great ancestor Cuth, or Cush; afterwards they were called Cutheri; and the present Kuttry tribe, one of the four great casts into which the nation was divided, are probably their immediate descendants. It has also been observed, that the residence of the Cuthæi was in the high northern latitudes of India, where, in fact, Alexander found them; and it is probable they had wandered, as is usual with infant colonies, from the cold and bleak regions in the immediate neighbourhood of the Caucasus, to the warm and genial provinces lying nearer the southern tropic. I have given a glimpse of the manners of the gloomy Cuthite worship, in which the ancient Indians were immersed. I have shewn that they delighted in the deep shade of trees of gigantic growth; rocks of immense magnitude; caverns of the profoundest depth; altars eternally smoking with the blood of men and beasts, poured out in barbarous sacrifice to the evil dæmon; that in their sacred ceremonies they used an infinite number of consecrated grasses, cautiously gathered under the benign aspect of some parti-

cular planet, with more especial reference to that of the silver empress of the night; that their ablutions were innumerable; that they were conversant with the most dreadful rites of magic, devoting their enemies to destruction with tremendous imprecations; that they believed in the transmigration of the human soul; and were absorbed in astronomical speculations and physical researches. In addition to these considerations, when we advert to the universal veneration for serpents in India, so congenial with the superstitious reverence entertained by the Druids for the Anguinum, or serpent's egg; when we recollect the sacred staff constantly borne by the Brahmins, so similar to the consecrated wand, or magic rod, of the Druids; their veneration for the chakra, wheel, or circle, which constantly adorns the hand of Brahma, and was with the Druids also an emblem of eternity; the solemn rites of initiation adopted equally in the caves of Elephanta, and the subterraneous recesses of Mona; the addition of both to the solar worship, and their perpetual preservation of the sacred fire in the depths of those caverns; and that, as the Brahmins were the first and most venerated tribe of India, so the Druids formed

formed the first order of nobility in Britain, when we recollect the profound reverence of both for the white horse of sacrifice and the sacred steer, that were never to bear harness or yoke; their devotion to vast pyramidal heaps of stones; and that the temples of India, at least those of the larger kind, are, for the most part, uncovered, like Stonehenge; that the priests of each nation were, during their solemn rites, arrayed in stoles of virgin white, and, alike, wore that lofty tiara, which may be seen on the head of the Persian Mithra, engraved in Hyde and Mountfaucon; when all these circumstances are attentively considered, it is impossible to doubt, that, at some remote period, the two orders were united, or, at least, were educated, in the same grand school with the magi of Persia and the seers of Babylon. Upon a few of the more prominent features just remarked, as having existed between the Brahmins and Druids, I shall presently enter at considerable length, occasionally citing, as I proceed, the ancient classical authors that treat concerning them, and those learned modern writers, whose indefatigable researches have made us best acquainted with that wonderful and secluded race of men.

But let us here take a short retrospective view of the gradual lapse of mankind from the sublime purity of the primæval devotion into that abyss of idolatry in which a few centuries saw them plunged.

In the ages immediately succeeding the general deluge, the memory of that tremendous punishment inflicted for crimes committed in the ante-diluvian world, undoubtedly for a long time, kept the primitive race, who peopled Asia, steady to the principles and practice of the virtuous branches of the family of Noah. In the line of Shem and of Japhet, it seems to be universally confessed, by Jewish as well as Christian divines, that the doctrines of the true religion flourished unviolated till the ambitious Nimrod, or Belus, extending his dominion from Babylon through the neighbouring empires of Asia, introduced, with the arms of Assyria, the Sabian, or Chaldaic, superstition, and polluted the altars of the true God with the idolatrous fires that burned to the host of Heaven. At whatsoever period, however, superstition was first propagated, and debased them, it is a fact not to be controverted, that those grand and essential principia of all true religion, the immortality
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of the soul, and a firm belief in a supreme presiding Providence, formed the basis equally of the Brahmin and the Druid codes of theology. That they also believed in the doctrine of the *defection* of the human soul from a state of original rectitude, its *regeneration by penance*, and final happiness to be obtained by means of a *mediator*, is evinced beyond the possibility of doubt, by an attentive consideration of the religious rites and practices prevailing among them.

In respect to the first of these propositions, a supreme Deity and governing Providence are necessarily supposed in the very formation of every religious institution. As to the second ; their conviction of the immortality of the soul is proved, not only by their general belief in its transmigration, but in the eagerness, and often the criminal eagerness, with which they sought *death* ; the release of that soul from the prison of the body. In regard to the third and fourth ; their notion of its defection is proved by the unexampled severities of discipline and horrible penitentiary sufferings undergone by them : and their belief in the doctrine of a mediatorial intercession by the superstitious reverence paid by them to the

Sun, Moon, and other inferior deities, whom, like their Sabian brethren of the Greater Asia, they considered in the light of mediators, to waft their prayers, and render them acceptable to the throne of divine mercy, as well as by their dreadful sacrifices of human victims, in the imagined prospect of propitiating the vengeance of incensed Omnipotence. In these principles and in this conduct of the Druids we trace the evident remains of the two grand systems of theology, the pure and the depraved, which prevailed in the first ages, and among the primitive race: the former inculcated by the virtuous father of the renovated world; the latter introduced by Belus, the impious parent of the Sabian heresy; the one a system of beneficence and mercy, the other a system of nefarious homicide. Men became more and more immersed in these superstitious and bloody practices, as the traces of the benevolent patriarchal religion were gradually effaced from their minds; and although the Brahmins, and their pupils, the Druids, while they practised the sanguinary rite, retained in memory some traits of their original reference, this seems by no means to have universally been the case. In general, the farther they
removed

removed from the immediate spot on which the first great interesting scenes were transacted, that is, Chaldæa, the theatre of renovated nature, the very occasion of these barbarous institutions intended to purify man and appease his Maker, was obliterated from their minds. They continued to practise them without knowing their allusion, and remained polluted with blood without even the consciousness of guilt, and without the prospect of redemption.

The most ancient Belus, above alluded to, whom Cicero calls Hercules-Belus, seems to have been the great progenitor of the royal Balic line, who established themselves in Assyria, Phœnicia, and India, and of those colonies who, after their leader, were denominated by the Greeks *Heraclidæ* and *Belidæ*. To this great deified hero and our Celtic Mercury have been assigned, by the ancients, all those renowned exploits which form the most brilliant annals of the infant world, and swell the volume of its early history. They were the indefatigable explorers of the most distant regions of the habitable globe; they were the intrepid chieftains who led the successive colonies that issued from the over-

charged plains of Mesopotamia to riches and to glory. Concerning each of these illustrious characters I shall have much hereafter to remark, but, with respect to Hercules-Belus, I think it proper, at this early period of the essay, to state, that to his comprehensive history and important character ought to be referred the far greater part of those heroic feats, that in such great profusion are heaped upon others who bear the distinguished name of Hercules. This Hercules, afterwards canonized and worshipped as the Sun, under the name of Baal, because probably he first instituted the solar worship in Asia, stands on record as the first great navigator to the shores of Europe, and had a splendid temple erected to him at the mouth of those straits, called from him the Pillars of Hercules, as being the limits of his travels to the West. There, in that temple of Gades, probably the first Asiatic superstitions were publicly performed in Europe, whence they would naturally become still farther diffused, as the Eastern colonies were themselves more dispersed over that continent and the isles adjoining. But from these general strictures on the character of Hercules and his worship, let us take a nearer retrospect
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of the sage and secluded inhabitants of the groves of Mona.

The Druids are, by Pliny and other writers, asserted to have derived their name from *δρυς*, an oak; but, as the order probably existed prior to the Greek term, and as it is not easy to conceive whence the Druids in their caverns should have learned to talk Greek, it is safer to derive it, as before intimated, from DRU, or DERU, an old Celtic word of the same signification, whence, it is likely, the Greek was formed.

Strabo distinguishes this venerable tribe of philosophers into three classes; *Βαρδοί*, bards, *Ῥαῦρες*, strictly priests, and *Δρυῖδαι*, properly the sacrificers under oaks.* Cæsar, in his sixth book de Bello Gallico, has discoursed largely concerning these holy hermits and their religious institutions. The whole of his account is too long for insertion in these pages; but it is very remarkable that he derives the Druids of Gaul from Britain, whereas the more general opinion among antiquaries is, that the Druids of Britain were a colony from Gaul. Among other points of doctrine peculiar to them, he enumerates their belief in and

* Strabo, lib. iv. p. 189.

inculcation

inculcation of the immortality of the soul, and its successive transmigrations through various bodies ; their mysterious magical rites ; their theories of the heavens, and the motions of the stars ; their knowledge of the magnitude of the earth, and their profound speculations in physics, in morals, and in theology.* When it is considered that all this accumulation of science was confined to one order, or sect, of a nation, involved otherwise in the profoundest ignorance and barbarity, there arises still more abundant reason to suppose that science of exotic growth and that order of foreign original.

Dr. Borlase, author of the History and Antiquities of Cornwall, has devoted a chapter of that learned work to the consideration of the circumstances so remarkably similar between the religious rites of the British Druids and the old Persians. As, however, in the former part of the Indian Theology, I have entered at great length into the subject of the Persian worship, and have already proved the near affinity which the Persian religion, in many of its grand and leading points, bore to that established in India,

* Cæsar's Comment. lib. iv. cap. 13.

and as we have learned from Sir W. Jones, not only that a race of Brahmins anciently sat on the throne of Persia, but that nine words out of ten of the old Pahlavi dialect are genuine Sanscreeet; I conceive that every fresh proof adduced by Dr. Borlase, of the striking similitude in the religious doctrines and ceremonies of these distant tribes of philosophers, is an additional corroboration of the hypothesis, which asserts them to be of the ancient school of the venerable Brachmans, and of the sect of the elder Buddha, because they venerated Mercury, and Buddha is the Indian Mercury, honoured with the same rites, and decorated with the same symbols.

Various writers also on British antiquities have judged, from a partial examination of the Phœnician mythology, that the whole of the Asiatic superstitions imported into Britain were brought into this country by a Phœnician colony; but this decision, though partly just, because colonies did undoubtedly in very early ages migrate hither from Tyre, with possibly a chief assuming the name of Hercules for their conductor, since Hercules was the grand agent of antiquity on all these occasions,

occasions, is not true in the extent contended for. It will be recollected, that, at the remote period at which I suppose the first colonies to have moved off from the great Tauric range, the whole mass of Eastern superstitions was concentrated in Assyria, and that the Phœnician religion, as well those parts of it which were of a purer nature as those which were corrupted by the prevailing Sabian idolatry, was, with exception to a few local divinities, and peculiar rites afterwards adopted in Phœnicia, the established religion of the higher Asia and the Brachmans.

Of a great and comprehensive argument, it is impossible, consistently with propriety in a mere Dissertation, to unfold more than a few leading traits; and those I shall devolve in as much order as the investigation of a subject so remote, and, in its nature, desultory, will allow of. There are few facts in ancient history which can be so clearly proved, as that the god Buddha, or Boodh, of the Indians, was the Oden, or Woden, of the northern nations. The first proof of it is, that very curious circumstance with which the acquaintance of Mr. Halhed with the Sanscreet language enabled him first to make his countrymen

men acquainted ; that the days of the week, in India, are named after the same planets to which they were assigned by the Greeks and Romans ; and that BOODH WAR, or Dies Boodh, is that fourth day of the week, which, in our language, derived from the Celtic and Getic, is denominated WODEN DIES, that is, *Oden's*, or *Woden's*, *Day*, corruptly pronounced Wednesday. The period in which the Indian Boodh flourished, which was in the earliest post-diluvian ages, as well as his planetary designation, and the astronomical symbols with which he is adorned, evince him to be the same identical person as the Taut of Phœnicia, whom all antiquity, not dreaming of an Indian Boodh, with united voice, allows to have originally migrated from Phœnicia, and to have settled in Upper Egypt. Taut, in truth, was no other than the elder Hermes, or god Anubis, of that country ; and it was this exotic god-king, as I have elsewhere endeavoured to make fully evident, who caused that most ancient and sublime symbol of the Tri-une Deity, the WING, the GLOBE, and the SERPENT, to be exalted on the lofty portals of all the Egyptian temples, as an eternal memento to revolving ages, that such a patriarchal

chal notion of a distinction in the divine nature did actually exist; and, where it now stands, as may be seen in the correct and beautiful engravings of Pococke and Norden, many of them copied into the preceding volumes of Indian Antiquities. It was also this identical Taut, who, under that other name of Hermes, instructed the Egyptians in the elements of astronomy, music, and letters; and who, borrowed from the mythology of those nations, under the later name of Mercury, was venerated by the Greeks and Romans as the God of Eloquence and Commerce. That in the mythologies of Asia there should have been two Boodhs and two Hermes will not appear strange to those readers who may reflect on the general prevalence in the ancient world of the doctrine of divine and successive emanations. Each was worshipped as a deity, and each decorated with similar illustrative insignia: for, it was the uniform system of the ancients, when they exalted to divine honours some distinguished mortal, to invest the deified person with the symbols of the virtues and the sciences for which he was, when living, most celebrated; while, in a constant contemplation

tion of the allegorical and spiritualized character, they forgot, by degrees, his terrestrial origin. Thus Hermes, having taught the Egyptians music, they gave him a testudo, or lyre, a symbol for ever occurring in the caverns of the Thebais; that testudo afterwards exalted to the skies for one emblem; while, for another, they gave him wings, and called him the Messenger of the Gods, either alluding to the rapid revolution of the planet that bore his name, or because, as an astronomer, he had explored the heavens, and revealed to man the secrets of the sky. In fact, Taut, Buddha, and Hermes, are only the varied appellations of some distinguished character, the immediate descendant of Noah, who earliest cultivated the arts reviving after the deluge, and who, leading colonies to distant regions, diffused the light of science over the renovated globe. To this illustrious character, as was before observed in the case of the Assyrian or Hercules Belus, the founder of the race of the Heraclidæ and the Belidæ, the several branches of the patriarchal family laid claim as a common ancestor; assumed his name as the chieftain of their tribe, regarded him as their tutelary genius, and, in the respective

spective systems of mythology instituted among them in succeeding ages, adored him as a divinity.

If the reader should be of opinion, that the very remarkable circumstance, of the same planetary deity giving name to the same day of the week in India and Britain, will not prove the absolute identity of Boodh, of Woden, of Taut, and of 'Hermes, let us go from Britain to Gaul, where another branch of the great Celtic family settled, for corroborative evidence of that identity, and we shall find, in the appellation of one of their chief deities, the very title of the Phœnician and Egyptian god. The name of Thoth and Taut is found very little disguised in Theutates, though I own the benign character of the Indian Boodh, who *forbade human sacrifices*, is not so very apparent in that line of Lucan's *Pharsalia*,

——— “ Immitis placatur sanguine diro
THEUTATES.”

Lib. I. v. 439.

The circumstance, however, of the Indian gods forbidding these cruel sacrifices, is a proof of their existence in the early period of his reign; and one or both of the subjoined arguments

arguments may be reasonably urged as a palliative for the continuance of a part of his votaries in these nefarious rites, either, in the first place, that they migrated before the order for their suppression was publicly promulged; or, in the second, that the native Scythian ferocity, not being entirely subdued by their commerce with the Brahmins and the gentler laws of the mild Veeſhnu, obſtinately continued to praſtiſe a rite ſo congenial to the original bent of a martial and ſanguinary diſpoſition. If after this any doubt ſhould remain in the reader's mind concerning the identity of the deity, let him advert to the ſymbols which he bore, the mode by which the Druids repreſented him, and to that peculiar allegorical delineation of the doctrines which he taught the Oriental world in the figure of the ORB, SERPENT, and WINGS, which is engraved in not leſs conſpicious characters on the extenſive plains of Abury, in Wiltſhire, than in the Thebais of ancient Egypt.

Cæſar expreſſly ſays, that the Druids worſhipped Mercury, and he doubtleſs aſſerted this from having obſerved in Britain the uſual ſymbols with which Mercury was decorated at Rome, the winged rod with the ſerpents

twined around it. But there was another mode of representing Hermes among the Asiatics, which was equally customary among the Druids; and it is a circumstance of no small moment in this argument. It was by a statue called Herma, which was a sort of square or cubical figure of marble, or brass, without arms or legs to complete the similitude of either human or celestial being. These cubical statues were placed in the vestibules of their temples, and were intended as expressive emblems of the God of Eloquence and Truth, since they were polished squares, on every side equal, which way soever they were turned. Pausanias tells us, that the inhabitants of Phares, in Achaia, round the statue of their principal divinity Mercury, erected, in the forum of that city, thirty cubics of polished marble, in honour of that deity, whose symbol was a cube:* and Dr. Borlase, speaking of the veneration of the Druids for the cube, observes, “ A cubic was their symbol for Mercury, who, as the Messenger of the Gods, was esteemed the index, or symbol, of TRUTH, always like to itself, as it is with a CUBE.†”

* Pausanias in Achaicis, lib. vii. cap. 22.

† Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 82.

There

There was another very remarkable symbol of Taut, or Mercury, prevalent in Egypt as well as in India. It was the letter T, or, in other words, the cross, or *crux Hermis*, in which form we find many of the more ancient pagodas of India, as Benares and Mattra, erected; and many of the old Egyptian statues, as is well known to antiquaries, are represented bearing this symbol in their hand or on their breasts. D'Ancarville, and the generality of mythologists, explain this symbol as referring to the gross physical worship to which the ancients were so greatly addicted, and as an emblem of Jupiter Generator, or the deity in his creative capacity, in ancient Egypt and India, and which Mr. Bruce frequently met with in his travels through the higher Egypt and Abyssinia. I have elsewhere observed the very singular manner after which the Latin *vulgate*, and, according to Lowth, probably the ancient copies of the Septuagint, have rendered the original of that passage in Ezekiel ix. 4. *I will set a mark upon their forebead*; rendering it in their version, I will mark them on the forehead with the letter TAU; which affords room to suppose it was a symbol of a more sacred

import than is generally imagined in the early patriarchal ages.

Now it is a fact not less remarkable than well attested, that the Druids in their groves were accustomed to select the most stately and beautiful tree as an emblem of the deity they adored; and, having cut off the side branches, they affixed two of the largest of them to the highest part of the trunk, in such a manner as that those branches, extended on each side like the arms of a man, together with the body, presented to the spectator the appearance of a huge cross; and on the bark, in various places, was actually inscribed the letter Thau. On the right arm was inscribed Hesus, (their Mars,) on the left Belemus, and on the middle of the trunk Tharanis.*

The testudo also, or lyre of Hermes, so congenial to the celebrated harp of the ancient Britains, that harp with which, Diodorus informs us, the Hyperboreans, in their island near Gaul, perpetually chaunted the praises of Apollo, in a magnificent temple of a circular

* Consult Borlase, and the express authorities which he adduces for the truth of this curious fact, p. 108.

form, should not be forgotten in this review of the parallel characters and symbols of Her-
mes and of Buddha.

From the whole weight of evidence collected from the page of history, and from the united voice of tradition, acting together upon the mind of M. Le Clerc, one of the ablest mythologists that ever wrote, it was that writer's decided opinion, that the Theutates of the Gauls, the Hermes of the Greeks, and the Mercury of the Romans, was the same person with the Thoth, or Taut, of Egypt; but a review of peculiar symbols and circumstances above enumerated, and more especially his name being assigned to the same day of the week in the astronomical system of all these respective nations, seems to place the fact beyond future dispute. Whosoever of the Noachidæ, the original prototypal character, of which these are the varied copy, might have been, his designation in antiquity as the God of Merchants and Travellers points him out as the conductor of colonies to distant regions, and the founder of that commercial intercourse among men, which necessarily results from extending the line of civilized society.

The learned Bochart, in his *Phaleg*,* strongly contending that the Phœnician deity Hermes was no other than Canaan, the son of Ham, endeavours to prove this point from the very etymon of his name, for Cnaan, or Canaan, signifies *trader*, which is the exact import of the Celtic Merc, or Mercator. He explains the wings generally drawn and sculptured on the head and feet of this Phœnician deity as allusive to the devotion of that people to navigation and commerce, and symbolical of the sails of those swift vessels that wafted them, in quest of tin, to the remote regions of the Cassiterides, on the coast of Britain. Founded, probably, on ancient traditions respecting his universal agency in the post-diluvian ages, was the pleasant Greek fable recorded by Lucian, in one of his dialogues, who describes this deity as having stolen the trident of Neptune, the arrows of Apollo, the sword of Mars, the forceps of Vulcan, and the girdle of Venus.†

Independently, however, of mythological symbols and those religious rites, upon the discussion of which I shall enter at large in

* *Phaleg*, lib. i. cap. 2.

† See the Dialogue of Vulcan et Apollo.

the next section, the hypothesis for which I contend is farther confirmed by the very striking similitude of certain civil festive customs immemorially established in these islands to those at this day flourishing in the East; customs of which the antiquary has in vain endeavoured in Western climes to explore the origin or account for the institution.

THE FIRST OF APRIL, OR THE ANCIENT FEAST
OF THE VERNAL EQUINOX, EQUALLY OB-
SERVED IN INDIA AND BRITAIN.

THE first of April was anciently observed in Britain as a high and general festival, in which an unbounded hilarity reigned through every order of its inhabitants; for the sun at that period of the year entering into the sign Aries, the new year, and with it the season of rural sports and vernal delight, was then supposed to have commenced. The proof of the great antiquity of the observance of this annual festival, as well as the probability of its original establishment in an Asiatic region, arises from the evidence of facts afforded us by astronomy, which shall presently be ad-
duced.

duced. Although the reformation of the year by the Julian and Gregorian calenders, and the adaptation of the period of its commencement to a different and far nobler system of theology, have occasioned the festival sports, anciently celebrated in this country on the first of April, to have long since ceased; and although the changes occasioned, during a long lapse of years, by the shifting of the equinoctial points, have in Asia itself been productive of important astronomical alterations as to the exact æra of the commencement of the year; yet on both continents some very remarkable traits of the jocundity, which then reigned, remain even to these distant times. Of those preserved in Britain, none of the least remarkable or ludicrous is that relic of its pristine pleasantry, the general practice of making APRIL FOOLS, as it is called, on the first day of that month; but this Colonel Pearce, in a paper published in the second volume of the Asiatic Researches, has proved to have been an immemorial custom among the Hindoos, at a celebrated festival holden about the same period in India, which is called the Huli festival. I shall insert the account in the Colonel's own words: "During the Huli,
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when mirth and festivity reign among Hindoos of every class, one subject of diversion is to send people on errands and expeditions, that are to end in disappointment, and raise a laugh at the expense of the person sent. The Huli is always in March, and the *last day* is the general holiday. I have never yet heard any account of the origin of this English custom; but it is unquestionably very ancient, and is still kept up even in great towns, though less in them than in the country: with us, it is chiefly confined to the lower class of people, but in India high and low join in it, and the late Suraja Doulah, I am told, was very fond of making Huli fools, though he was a Mussulman of the highest rank. They carry the joke here so far, as to send letters making appointments, in the name of persons, who, it is known, must be absent from their house at the time fixed upon; and the laugh is always in proportion to the trouble given.*

The least inquiry into the ancient customs of Persia, or the minutest acquaintance with the general astronomical mythology of Asia, would have taught Colonel Pearce, that the boundless hilarity and jocund sports prevalent

* Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 334.

on the first day of April in England, and during the HULI festival of India, have their origin in the ancient practice of celebrating with festival rites the period of the vernal equinox, or the day when the new year of Persia anciently began. I have added, below, the order of the Indian months, as they are enumerated by Sir William Jones himself, in the Asiatic Researches, and have added the English names of our corresponding months, and translations of the Sanscreeet appellations of the afterisms.

Afwin,	<i>April;</i>	}	Mesh,	<i>Ram.</i>
Carti,	<i>May;</i>		Vrish,	<i>Bull.</i>
Agrahayan,	<i>June;</i>		Mit'hun,	<i>Twins.</i>
Paush,	<i>July;</i>		Carcat,	<i>Crab. 4</i>

Magh,	<i>August;</i>	}	Sinh,	<i>Lion.</i>
P'halgun,	<i>September;</i>		Canya,	<i>Virgin.</i>
Chaitr,	<i>October;</i>		Tula,	<i>Balance.</i>
Vaisac'h,	<i>November;</i>		Vrischic,	<i>Scorp. 8</i>

Jaisht'h,	<i>December;</i>	}	Dhan,	<i>Bow.</i>
Ashar,	<i>January;</i>		Macar,	<i>Capric.</i>
Sravan,	<i>February;</i>		Cumbh,	<i>Aquar.</i>
Bhadr,	<i>March;</i>		Min,	<i>Fish. 12</i>

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The Indians now, indeed, begin their year on the eleventh of April, and the Persians have adopted, in their civil concerns, the Mohammedan mode of computation; but both nations probably, in the remote ages to which we allude, began their year when the Sun entered into the sign Aries, and the ancient Persian coins stamped with the head of the Ram, which, according to D'Ancarville, were offered to Gemshid, the founder of Persepolis, and first reformer of the solar year among the Persians,* are an additional demonstration of the high antiquity of this festival. It is still observed, in that country, under the title of NAURAS, a word which means, the first day of the year; and in the "Ambassador's Travels," the writer acquaints us, that some of their body being deputed to congratulate the Shah, on the first day of the year, "they found him at the palace of Isfahan, sitting at a banquet, and having near him the MINATZIM, or Astrologer, who rose up ever and anon, and taking his astrolabe, went to observe the sun; and, at the very moment of the sun's reaching the equator, he

* See D'Ancarville. vol. iii. p. 115; and Jones's Short History of Persia, p. 41.

published aloud the new year, the commencement of which was celebrated by the firing of great guns both from the castle and city walls, and by the sound of all kinds of instruments."*

The Persian and Tartar monarchs, sitting on the throne of India, still preserved inviolable a custom which probably had its origin when the first great dynasty of the Pishdadian line, of which Caiumeras was the head, extended their sway over the greater part of Asia, and we have astronomical proof, that the vernal equinox could not have co-incided with the first degree of Aries later, at least, than two thousand five hundred years before Christ, which might be the precise period when the first colonies began to migrate from Asia towards the west, and very much builds up the hypothesis for which I contend, of the English being derived from an Asiatic festival. That entertaining and judicious writer, Sir Thomas Roe, was ambassador from our Court to that of Delhi, when the Nauruz festival was celebrated there in 1616, and his account of it, as well as that of the cere-

* Ambassador's Travels, p. 220. Edit. folio, 1662.

mony of weighing the Mogul on his own birthday, are so curious, and the tract itself withal so scarce, that I shall be easily pardoned by my readers for presenting them with an authenticated account of the unequalled magnificence of a court, once the most splendid and powerful in Asia, but now utterly degraded, and its pomp extinguished. The festival at Delhi lasted nine days, and a kind of fair, like that holden at Venice during the carnival, and probably copied from this ancient Eastern kind of festival, during the extensive commercial intercourse formerly carried on between the Venetians and India, seems to have been the principal amusement.

“ The Nauruz, in India, is kept in imitation of the Persian festival of that name; and is celebrated after the following manner. A throne is erected four feet from the ground in the *Durbar* court; from the back whereof to the place where the king comes out, a square of fifty-six paces in length, and forty-three in breadth, is railed in, and covered with fair canopies of cloth of gold, silk, or velvet, joined together, and held up with canes covered after the same manner. The ground is laid with good Persian carpets
very

very large, into which place come all the men of quality to attend the king, except some few that are within a little rail right before the throne to receive his commands. Within this square there were set out, for shew, many little houses, one of them of silver, and some other curiosities of value. The prince-sultan had on the left side a pavillion, the supporters whereof were covered with silver, as were some of those also near the king's throne. The form of this throne was square, the matter, wood inlaid with mother-of-pearl, borne up with four pillars, and covered with cloth of gold. About the edge, over head, like a valence, was a net fringe of good pearl, from which hung down pomegranates, apples, pears, and such fruit of gold, but hollow. Within it, the king sat on cushions very rich in pearls and jewels. Round about the court before the throne, the principal men had erected tents, which encompassed the court, and lined them with velvet, damask, or taffety, for the most part, but some few with cloth of gold; into which they retired, and sat to shew all their wealth. For antiently the kings used to go to every tent, and take thence what they pleased; but now it is changed,

ged, the king sitting to receive what new-year's gifts are brought him."*

The new-born Sun, and the birth-day of the Persian monarch, the son of the Sun, and his representative on earth, were festivals attended with rites too similar not to be noticed in a work discussing the mythological antiquities of Asia. Nothing can be more brilliant, or more truly detailed, than that festival, as related by the same author. It may serve as an awful lesson to imperial pride: for the grandeur described and the dynasty itself are now annihilated.

“ The second of September was the king's birth-day, and kept with great solemnity. On this day the king is weighed against jewels, gold, silver, stuffs of gold, silver, and many other rich and rare articles, of every sort a little, which is all given to the Brahmins. He was so splendid in jewels, that I own in my life I never saw such inestimable wealth together. The time was spent in bringing his greatest elephants before him; some of which, being lord-elephants, had their chains, bells, and furniture of gold and silver,

* See Sir Thomas Roe's Journal apud Harris, vol. i. p. 630.

with many gilt banners and flags carried about them, and eight or ten elephants waiting on each of them, clothed in gold, silk, and silver. In this manner about twelve companies passed by most richly adorned, the first having all the plates on his head and breast set with rubies and emeralds, being a beast of wonderful bulk and beauty. They all bowed down before the king, making their reverence very handsomely: this was the finest shew of beasts I ever saw. The mogul himself was sitting cross-legged on a little throne, all covered with diamonds, pearls, and rubies. Before him a table of gold, and on it about fifty pieces of gold plate, all set with jewels, some very great and extremely rich, some of them of less value, but all of them almost covered with small stones. His nobility about him in their best equipage, whom he commanded to drink merrily several sorts of wine standing by in great flaggons. On a sudden the king rose, we retired to the *Durbar*, and sat on the carpets, attending his coming out. Not long after he came, and sat about half an hour, till his ladies at their door had mounted their elephants, which were about fifty, all of them richly adorned, but chiefly three with turrets

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on their backs all enclosed with grates of gold wire to look through, and canopies over of cloth of silver. Then the king came down the stairs with such an acclamation of Health to the king! as would have out-roared cannon. At the foot of the stairs, where I met him, and shuffled to be next, one brought a mighty carp; another a dish of white stuff like starch, into which he put his finger, and touched the fish, and so rubbed it on his forehead; a ceremony used presaging good fortune. Then another came, and girt on his sword and hung on his buckler set all over with diamonds and rubies, the belts of gold suitable. Another hung on his quiver with thirty arrows, and his bow in a case, being the same that was presented by the Persian ambassador. On his head he wore a rich turban with a plume of herons' feathers, not many, but long. On one side hung a ruby unset, as big as a walnut; on the other side a diamond as large; in the middle an emerald like a heart, much bigger. His staff was wound about with a chain of great pearl, rubies, and diamonds, drilled. About his neck he wore a chain of three strings of most excellent pearl, the largest I ever saw. Above his elbows, armlets

set with diamonds, and on his wrist three rows of several sorts; his hands bare, but almost on every finger a ring. His gloves, which were English, stuck under his girdle. His coat of cloth of gold without sleeves, upon a fine *femain*, as thin as lawn. On his feet a pair of buskins embroidered with pearl, the toes sharp and turning up. Thus armed and accoutred he went to the coach that attended him, with his new English servant, who was clothed as rich as any player, and more gaudy, and had broke four horses, which were trapped and harnessed in gold velvets. This was the first coach he ever sat in, made by that sent out of England, so like that I knew it not but by the cover, which was a Persian gold velvet. He sat at the end, and on each side went two eunuchs, who carried small maces of gold set all over with rubies, with a long bunch of horse-tail to flap the flies away. Before him, went drums, base trumpets, and loud music, many canopies, umbrellas, and other strange ensigns of majesty, made of cloth of gold, set in many places with rubies. Nine led horses, the furniture of some garnished with rubies, some with pearls and emeralds, some only with studs enamelled. The
Persian

Persian ambassador presented him with a horse. Next behind came three palankins, the carriages and feet of one plated with gold, set at the ends with stones, and covered with crimson velvet embroidered with pearl, and a fringe of great pearl hanging in ropes a foot deep, a border about it set with rubies and emeralds. A footman carried a footstool of gold set with stones. The other two palankins were covered and lined only with cloth of gold. Next followed the English coach newly covered and richly adorned, which he had given to Queen *Normahall*, who sat in it. After them a third, in which sat his younger sons. Then followed about twenty elephants-royal, led for him to mount, so rich in stones and furniture, that they glittered like the sun. Every elephant had sundry flags of cloth of silver, gilt satin, and taffety.*

To return from this short digression to the symbols and monuments remaining in the East plainly allusive to this festival. It, doubtless, arose from this circumstance, that the ancient Egyptians, as Eusebius informs us, at Elephantine, worshipped the figure of a

* See Sir Thomas Roe's Journal, apud Harris, vol. i. p. 644-

man painted *blue*, to mark his celestial origin, having the head of a ram, and the horns of a goat, which encompassed a disk, designating hereby the solar and lunar conjunction in the sign Aries. This, in fact, is the true Jupiter Ammon of antiquity, whose symbol was a ram; and he was thus portrayed on the Egyptian zodiac long before the Greeks arrogated to themselves the honour of being the inventors of the astronomical asterisms.

Dr. Stukely, in his *Abury*, p. 68, is of opinion, that the four solar ingresses into the cardinal points have been observed as the seasons of public sacrificing from the creation of the world; and, in reality, history acquaints us, that the four grand solemnities or general sacrifices of the Druids were at the equinoxes and the solstices. None, however, was celebrated with greater festival pomp than the vernal equinox, for it was at that period, the first of April, old style, that the Arch-Druid, arrayed in stole of virgin white, to denote unfulfilled chastity, the sacred *anguinum*, or druid-egg, incased in gold, suspended around his neck, bearing in one hand the mystical rod or staff, equally used by the Brahmins of India and the Magi of Persia, and elevating
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in the other, the golden sickle, issued forth in solemn procession to gather the sacred, wonder-working, *all-healing* MISLETOE from its parent oak; under the expansive shade of whose branches the victims were sacrificed, and the festive rites commenced. Knowing the veneration entertained in India for the bovine species, we could scarcely believe, that a race, descended, as I contend, from the Brahmins, or at least educated in the school of Brahma, could then immolate, as was the constant custom of the Druids after gathering the mistletoe, two white bulls that had never borne the yoke, did we not know that both the Brahmins and the Persians were anciently addicted to the GOMEDHA JUG, or sacrifice of the bull, in honour of the Sun. Nor can we wonder that the mistletoe, thus gathered, was afterwards offered to Taranis, or Jupiter; that deity who was supposed to preside in Aries, as the guardian genius of the constellation, and whose symbol, we have just observed, was the ram.

Mr. Volney, with that determined spirit of scepticism which distinguishes his writings, contends, that the feast of the Jewish passover, when the paschal lamb was sacrificed, derived

its real origin, not from the awful event recorded in Scripture, but from the ancient Egyptian custom of observing with festival rites the period when the Sun arrives at the equinoctial line; and the Hebrew word PASCHA, which certainly signifies *passage*, he interprets as descriptive merely of the Sun's passing from one hemisphere into the other. The ancient Jews and their modern descendants undoubtedly kept, and do keep, this most solemn festival at the vernal equinox, beginning it on the evening of the fourteenth of the month Nisan, and continuing it in March, for seven days afterwards, including the twentieth, on which day the Sun actually reaches the equinoctial line, but, independently of the solemn asseveration of Holy Writ as to the origin and design of the passover, the national records of the Hebrews, and their continued observation of it during so many ages, with rites peculiar and appropriate to the professed intention, rites not otherwise to be accounted for, are unanswerable proofs of the divine origin of that institution among them. With equal confidence and impiety he distorts the expressions, so often occurring in Scripture, of the Lamb of *God*, of the coming of the

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the Redeemer, and the regenerator of a fallen world, referring them to an astronomical origin, and the millennium of Christians to that auspicious period when the grand ἀποκαταστάσις shall take place; after the Sun shall have travelled through the zodiacal asterisms; and begin the new Annus Magnus in the first degree of the sign Aries.

There is, also, another annual festival, celebrated on the same day in both countries, which opens a not less extensive and curious field for inquiry; and as the investigation will lead to a display of Oriental manners, founded on astronomical speculation, I shall discuss the subject at some length.

This festival was observed with ceremonies wonderfully similar in countries so remote as Britain and India; for although I do not recollect that the facetious Mr. Knight has taken notice of a circumstance that fell so immediately within the sphere of his profound lucubrations on a certain worship, which he has discussed so amply, yet the reader may rest assured, that, on the FIRST OF MAY, when the Sun enters into the sign Taurus, Englishmen unknowingly celebrate the Phallic festival of India and Egypt, and he will, perhaps,

be convinced of this, when he shall recollect what was intimated in page 312, vol. ii. of the Indian Antiquities, that the Greek word φαλλος signifies *a pole*, and the splendid decoration of golden crowns, which, somewhat after the manner of the gilded salvers and tankards suspended, around the English pageant, adorned that φαλλος, anciently displayed to public view in the Egyptian festival there alluded to. Far be it from me to impeach the unfulled modesty of the chaste British virgin, that with her gay lover on that happy day, when the Sun, the bright prolific source of generation, with renovated vigour enters into the sign Taurus, the emblem also on earth of vigour and fertility, — far be it from me to call the blush of shame into her blooming cheek; yet historic truth compels me to acquaint her, that while, with her delighted lover, she glides in the mazy dance around the elevated symbol of the productive energy of nature, so richly bedecked with flowers and garlands, she performs the part, and renovates, in Britain, the worship and rites, of the ancient φαλλοφεραι. Lovely unsuspecting damsels! pursue your innocent sports unabashed, and continue to enjoy in
your

your happy ignorance pleasures denied to minds
more refined and scrupulous.

THE FIRST OF MAY EQUALLY REGARDED AS
A PHALLIC FESTIVAL IN INDIA AND IN
BRITAIN.

WHEN the reader calls to mind what has already been observed, that, owing to the precession of the equinoxes, after the rate of seventy-two years to a degree, a total alteration has taken place through all the signs of the ecliptic, insomuch that those stars which formerly were in Aries have now got into Taurus, and those of Taurus into Gemini; and when he considers also the difference before-mentioned, occasioned by the reform of the calendar, he will not wonder at the disagreement that exists in respect to the exact period of the year on which the great festivals were anciently kept, and that on which, in imitation of primæval customs, they are celebrated by the moderns. Now the vernal equinox, after the rate of that precession, certainly could not have coincided with the first of May less than four thousand years before

fore Christ, which nearly marks the æra of the creation, which, according to the best and wisest chronologers, began at the vernal equinox, when all nature was gay and smiling, and the earth arrayed in its loveliest verdure, and not, as others have imagined, at the dreary autumnal equinox, when that nature must necessarily have its beauty declining, and that earth its verdure decaying. I have little doubt, therefore, that May-day, or at least the day on which the Sun entered Taurus, has been immemorially kept as a sacred festival from the creation of the earth and man, and was originally intended as a memorial of that auspicious period and that momentous event.

Independent, however, of any particular allusion to that primæval event, which, after all, is but conjecture, the bull being in the East the universal emblem of the supreme generative power that made the world, the period of the Sun's ingress into that sign could scarcely fail of being regarded with peculiar honours by a race involved in the depth of a gross physical superstition and devoted to the Phallic worship. On the lofty eminences of the Carns, that were extended in a line over
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the whole coast near which the Druids resided, and which were conspicuously raised in sight of each other, it was their custom, on May-eve, to light up prodigious fires which illumined the whole region round about. These fires were in honour of Beal, or Bealan, the Irish and Celtic word for the Sun; and hence it arose, that Bealteine is still used for May-day by the Highlanders of Scotland.

Two of these fires, according to Toland, were kindled on May-day, in every village of the nation, between which the men and beasts to be sacrificed were obliged to pass; one of them being kindled on the Carn, and the other on the ground.* These fires were supposed to confer a sanctity upon those who passed through them, as was the intention in the rites of Mithra, when the candidate for initiation was alternately plunged in baths of fire and water at once to try his resolution, and to *purify* him; a word derived from this very custom, for *πυρ* is the Greek term for *fire*. The ancient and barbarous custom of the Phœnicians in making their children pass through the fire to Moloch, is by this prac-

* Hist. of the Druids, vol. i. p. 71.

tice of the Druids irresistibly brought to our recollection ; and, as we know that they worshipped the Sun under the title of Moloch, so we are as certain that that worship and this rite were derived to them from their Eastern ancestors.

On the general devotion of the ancients to the worship of the Bull I have had frequent occasion to remark, and more particularly in the Indian History, by their addiction to it at that period,

——— Aperit cum cornibus annum
Taurus, ———

“ when the BULL with his horns opened the vernal year.” I observed that all nations seem anciently to have vied with each other in celebrating that blissful epoch ; and that the moment the Sun entered the sign Taurus, were displayed the signals of triumph and the incentives to passion ; that memorials of the universal festivity indulged at that season are to be found in the records and customs of people otherwise the most opposite in manners and the most remote in situation ; I could not avoid considering the circumstance as a strong additional proof that mankind originally descended

scended from one great family, and proceeded to the several regions in which they finally settled from one common and central spot ; that the Apis, or sacred bull of Egypt, was only the symbol of the Sun in the vigour of vernal youth ; and that the bull of Japan, breaking with his horn the mundane egg, was evidently connected with the same bovine species of superstition, founded on the mixture of astronomy and mythology.

It is remarkable, that one of the most solemn feasts of the Hindoos, called that of Auruna, the day-star, falls on the sixth day of the new moon in May, and is dedicated, says Mr. Holwell, to the Goddess of Generation, who is worshipped when the morning star appears, or at dawn of day, for the propagation of children, and to remove barrenness. On this day, he adds, presents are usually made by parents to their sons-in-law, in token probably of the holy nuptial rite, and the day ends with a banquet. This ancient custom of making presents to friends, and relatives, and great men, on the first day of the new year, has descended down to our own times, and the *new-year's gift* exhibits to us another remnant of Asiatic hilarity imitating

ting the bounties of nature at the vernal season.

The same Colonel Pearce, before cited, in a letter published in the Asiatic Researches, thus describes the annual Indian festival holden on the first of May: "I beg leave to point out to the society that the Sunday before last was the festival of Bhavani, (a personification of vernal nature, the Dea Syria of Chaldea, and Venus Urania of Persia,) which is annually celebrated by the Gopas and all other Hindoos, who keep horned cattle for use or profit. On this feast, they visit gardens, erect a *pole* in the fields, and adorn it with pendants and garlands. The Sunday before last, he adds, was our first of May, on which the same rites are performed by the same class of people in England, where it is well known to be a relic of ancient superstition. It should seem, therefore, that the religion of the East and the old religion of Britain had a strong affinity."*

Mr. Finch, too,† speaking of the great Meydan or square of Surat, describes what he

* See Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 333.

† See his Travels in Harris's Collection, vol. i. p. 84.

calls a tall May-pole in the centre, round which, he says, the Hindoos make their pastime on the great festival-days.

To satisfy ourselves that the race who erected the stupendous circular temple of STONEHENGE were a tribe of Brachmans, of the sect of BOODH, we have only to call to mind the peculiar predominant superstition of that tribe, which, according to Lucian, was the adoration of the Sun, as a secondary deity, in a circular dance, expressive of his supposed revolution; and to attend to the mode after which that sect principally represented their favourite deity.

I have elsewhere observed from Vitruvius, that, in conformity to a notion of the ancients, when erecting temples to the pagan deities, that the properties and functions of the object adored should be attended to, all the temples to the Sun, the Moon, and the other planets, were built in a *circular manner*, because those orbs perpetually revolve in vast circles. Now Diodorus Siculus informs us, that there was an island beyond Gaul, as large as Sicily, in which the Hyperborean race adored Apollo in a circular temple, considerable

able for its size and riches.* “ By Apollo,” says one of the best, but not the purest, writer of mythology in the present age, “ in the language of the Greeks of that day, can be meant no other personage than the SUN;” and he thinks the island can be no other than Britain, which might be known to the Greeks by the vague reports of Phœnician mariners. The circumstance of its being thus particularized, Mr. Knight thinks, is a convincing proof of the magnitude and celebrity of this structure; and he is of opinion, that STONEHENGE was the identical temple here alluded to. This remark of Mr. Knight is perfectly congenial with my own sentiments on the subject, and I mean in a future page to give the whole passage, at length from Diodorus, with such strictures upon what precedes and follows it as I conceive will place the fact beyond dispute. That Gentleman’s consequent observation that the large obelisks of stone, found in many parts of the North, such as those at RUDSTONE, described in the fifth volume of the *Archæologia*, and those near BURROUGHBRIDGE, delineated in Stuke-

* Diodorus Siculus, lib. ii. p. 130.

ley's Itinerary, and now called the Devil's Arrows, are vestiges of the same religion, is made with equal judgement; and evinces the writer's intimate knowledge of the earliest superstitions of the East.*

That the Druids not less than the Brachmans adored the Sun in a circular dance, is not only evident from the following passages in Athenæus and Pliny, but from many others in Toland's History of the Druids, and may be proved from similar practices at this day existing in the Hebrides, and many places where those Druids took up their favourite though secluded residence. Athenæus tells us that the ancient Gauls, "when they worshipped their gods, turned round on the right hand,"† imitating thereby the apparent motion of the heavens from east to west, and the radiant march of the stars. Pliny confirms this account, by expressly saying, "that the Gauls, contrary to the practice of the Romans, who were accustomed in their devotions to turn the body quite round from left to right, imitating thereby the course of the sun and planets, always turned round the

* Mr Knight on the Phallic Worship, p. 115.

† Athenæus, lib. iv. p. 152.

body, in adorando, from right to left.”* When you worship the gods, says Plautus, worship turning to the right hand. *Si deos salutas dextro versus censeo.*† It is a curious fact, and by no means to be omitted in this place, that the ancients, not less than the moderns, made the festive goblet circulate according to the course of the sun, of which no stronger nor more authentic testimony need be brought than that of old Homer himself, who describes the immortals as quaffing their nectar in this order; for Vulcan, when he carries the goblet round, goes round *εὐδεξία*,‡ by the right hand, not merely with dexterity, or nimbly, as the translators render it, but to imitate the course of the planet who matures the genial grape. Had Pope been like Homer, *vinofus*, he would have noticed this; but Pope was not celebrated for his hospitalities.

For the fuller information of the reader on this subject, I must beg his attention to the following account of the sacred astronomical

* Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxviii. cap. 2.

† Plautus, act i. scene i. verse 70.

‡ Homeri Iliad. lib. i. v. 597.

dance of the ancients in a former volume. “ Besides these dances, there existed in antiquity a solemn and measured dance, more particularly instituted by the astronomical priests, which imitated the motion of the sun and planets, in their respective orbits. This dance was divided into three parts, the *strophe*, the *antistrophe*, and that which was called *stationary*, or slow and scarcely-perceptible motion before the altar. In the *strophe*, they danced from the right hand to the left, by which motion, Plutarch is of opinion, they meant to indicate the apparent motion of the heavens, from east to west: in the *antistrophe*, they moved from the left to the right, in allusion to the motion of the planets, from west to east; and, by the slow, or stationary, motion before the altar, the permanent stability of the earth. It was in the last situation that the *ἔπωδον*, or *ode after the dance*, was sung. I cannot, however, avoid being of opinion, that the ancients knew something more of the true system of astronomy than this, and that, by the slow stationary, or hardly-perceptible, motion before the altar, they intended to denote either

the revolution of the earth upon its axis, or else the *solstitial period*."

The RAAS JATTRA, or circular dance, of the Indians, an account of which follows the above quotation, will demonstrate the truth of Lucian's assertion in regard to its existence among the Brachmans; and how much the Druids were devoted to this species of worship we shall presently learn from the proofs adduced, as well from ancient as modern times, in the page of their historian, Mr. Toland.

In the isles of Scotland, he informs us, at this day the vulgar still shew a great respect for the Druids' houses, and never come to the ancient sacrificing and fire-hallowing cars, but they walk three times round them, from east to west, according to the course of the sun. This sanctified tour, or round by the South, is called *Deiseal*, as the unhallowed contrary one by the north *Tuapholl*. The first is derived from *Deas*, or *Deis*, the right hand, and *Soil*, one of the ancient names of the Sun: the right hand in this round begin ever next the car. The Protestants in the Hebrides are almost as much addicted to the *Deiseal* as the Papists: hereby it may be seen
how

how hard it is to eradicate inveterate superstition. This custom was used three thousand years ago, and very probably long before, by their ancestors the ancient Gauls, of the same religion with themselves.*

The same author acquaints us that the inhabitants of Lewis, one of the largest of the western isles, still practise this circular species of worship; bowing three times, and repeating three solemn prayers, as they morning and evening go in procession round the chapel in which their devotions are performed; and that the common mode of paying respect and homage to benefactors and persons of eminence and dignity, throughout those islands, is three times to turn round them sunways, all the while blessing them and invoking heaven in their favour.†

We come now to consider after what peculiar manner the sect devoted to Buddha represented this their favourite deity, which we shall find to be exactly after the manner in which the Druids imaged their deity.

* Toland's History of the Druid, p. 102.

† Ibid. p. 118.

If the reader will be pleased to revert to my concise account, of the superstition of BOODH in a preceding volume of Indian Antiquities,* he will there find, that, in the Indian peninsula, this deity was represented by a stupendous stone idol, called the SOMMONACODOM, and that his followers took delight in erecting to his honour “temples and high monuments, as if,” says Mr. Knox, in his account of Ceylone there cited, “they had been born solely to hew rocks and huge stones, and lay them up in heaps.” He has been likewise informed, from Norden, that the Egyptian priests resided near the pyramids in square stone cells; and from M. Le Loubere, that the priests of BOODH, in Siam, a supposed colony from Egypt, resided in a kind of convent, consisting of many little cells, ranged in within a large square inclosure, in the middle of which stood the temple. He then adds, certain pyramids stand near and *quite round* the temple.†

Of that secluded race of men, who lived in the hallowed groves and caves of Mona, and

* See the third volume towards the commencement.

† Ibid.

erected the stupendous circular structure and the lofty obelisks above referred to, can any description be more pointedly picturesque? But let us inquire more particularly what opinion the Indians themselves entertain of their god BUDDHA. What was the exact period in which he lived? Whom did he marry? Where was he born? Whence did he come?

I am aware that Kæmpfer speaking of Buddha boldly asserts him to be the same with the renowned Budia Sakia, whose priests, when Cambyfes ravaged Egypt, were driven from that desolated country into every region that would afford them shelter; who, it is said, introduced their idol into China, under the softened name of Fo, since the inhabitants of that vast empire, having neither B nor D in their alphabet, could not pronounce the former harsh appellative; who gave their god Sommonacodom to the Siamese; and who, by the ships of the Phœnicians, since the commerce of that people with Britain for their envied tin was about that time in its fullest vigour, might easily find a passage into this country. By the former supposition, the original occasion of introducing the ancient

Oriental superstitions into Britain is indeed in some degree accounted for; but, in that case, the priests of Mona should be descendants of the old Egyptians, with whom, though in some general points of their religion they may agree, yet to whom, in many of their particular ceremonies and more distinguishing tenets, they are directly opposite. But besides this glaring incongruity and innumerable other absurdities in this hypothesis, the æra assigned for the first planting of the Asiatic superstitions in Europe is far too late in the annals of time. We know that the Druid system of religion, long before the time of Cambyfes, had taken deep root in the British isles. The Budia Sakia mentioned by Kæmpfer was doubtless the second Bhod, the usurper of the honours of the first, who, in fact, was one of the most renowned of the Indian AVATARS, and a brilliant incarnation of the Deity himself. The Druid doctrines and manners are not of an Egyptian stamp; they are altogether those of the patriarchal ages, and have a striking affinity to those of the Scythian and Celto-Scythian tribes, who, in different, but all remote, æras, descending from that great hive, or, as it has been emphatically

phatically called, that forge of mankind, the Northern Asia, conquered Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and deluged the half of Europe with a new and hardier race of men. The Scandinavian historians have recorded these invasions; and the conquering chieftain, or rather God in human form, according to the Hindoo system of successive incarnations of the Deity, who led the first legions from the overcharged plains of Scythia, bore the renowned name of WODEN.

Monsieur Mallet, previous to his History of Sweden, presented his patrons with a work which he entitled *Antiquitates Septentrionales*, or Northern Antiquities; and I have presented mine with a work, which I have entitled *Indian Antiquities*. However different in name, in the end it may possibly turn out, that the subjects of our investigation, at least as far as their primæval manners and early history are concerned, do not so materially vary. In the fourth chapter of that book, the following intelligence is recorded.

“ A celebrated TRADITION, confirmed by the poems of all the northern nations, by their chronicles, by institutions and customs, some of which subsist to this day, informs us,
that,

that, in *very early periods*, an extraordinary person, named ODEN, reigned in the North; that he made great changes in the government, manners, and religion, of those countries; that he enjoyed there great authority, and had even divine honours paid him. All these are facts which cannot be contested: but as to what concerns the *original* of this man, the country whence he came, the time in which he lived, and the other circumstances of his life and death, they are so uncertain, that the most profound researches, the most ingenious conjectures relative to them, discover nothing to us but our own ignorance."*

I have before observed, that the belief of the Metempsychosis, and the system of EMANATIONS, so ancient and universal in India, has been frequently the occasion of introducing, upon the theatre of human transactions, personages upon whom, on account of similarity of genius or talents, though flourishing in ages very remote from each other, they bestowed one common name. This circumstance has given birth to a multitude of imaginary Zoroasters and Orpheuses, and this

* Mallet's Northern Antiquities, p 58.

has doubtless been the real cause, that on two persons, living in very different periods of the Indian and Scythian empires, the distinguished denominations of BOODH and WODEN have been conferred. The etymology of the name Sacya, or Sakia, according to Sir William Jones, is to be found in a Sanscreeet word signifying a *feeder on vegetables*, and the term BUDDHA, or Boodhist, means, in general, a *sage or philosopher*. Well aware how important a point it was to fix as nearly as possible the æra of the original BOODH, Sir William has bestowed upon the investigation a considerable portion of that indefatigable industry, which he has so honourably to himself, and with so much advantage to Oriental literature, employed upon Indian subjects. A similar conviction of the importance of that point has induced me, in another place, to extend and amplify his observations, and to collect together all the circumstances to be met with in antiquity that might throw any light on the character and æra of the Egyptian Hermes, or Anubis, who was *indubitably* the same person with the elder Boodh of India. The reader will find the result of my inquiries stated in the history of the ninth incarnation of
Veeſhnu,

Veeshnu, under the name and form of Boodh. For the present, it will be sufficient to remark, that, according to the BHAGAVAT-AMRITA, or cream of the Bhagavat, a commentary, written by a learned Goswami, of good authority, the prior Boodh appeared on earth *towards the commencement of the Cali Yug*, or present age; and, what is extremely to our purpose, that he married ILA, *whose father was preserved in a miraculous ark from an universal deluge*.* Now it is a very remarkable fact, and singularly corroborative of the Indian as well as sacred records, that Noah himself is called Ilus in the Phœnician History of Sanchoniatho; for Χρηνος, or Noah, is there represented as the son of Ουρανός and Γη, or *Heaven and Earth*, allusive to his being the first man after the deluge; and Chronus and Ilus are terms throughout that history used as synonymous.†

I must here, therefore, again request the reader to observe, that as I have all along contended for a prior Buddha, existing in the first ages of the post-diluvian world, and one

* Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 376.

† See Bishop Cumberland's Sanchoniatho, p. 29, et seq.

of the immediate descendants of Noah, throughout the whole of this dissertation I also allude to the first, or *God Woden*, immemorially canonized through all the regions of the Northern Asia, the true hyperborean Mars, and not to that renowned Scandinavian conqueror of later periods who assumed his name, and arrogated his rites, that common artifice of the times in which he flourished, to inspire his followers with the deeper respect. In another part of his learned work Mr. Mallet remarks; “ I will not answer for the truth of the account given of the original of this God-man; I only suspect that at some period of time, more or less early, either he, or his fathers, or the authors of his religion, came from some country of Scythia, or from the borders of Persia. I may add, that the God, whose prophet or priest he pretended to be, was named ODIN, and that the ignorance of succeeding ages confounded the Deity with his priest, composing, out of the attributes of the one and the history of the other, a gross medley, in which we can at present distinguish nothing very certain. New proofs of this confusion will occur in all we shall hereafter produce

produce on this subject; and it will behove the reader never to lose sight of this observation.”*

In fact, both this author’s account of the relation, and all other genuine accounts of the ancient superstitious doctrines and rites of the northern nations, invariably tend to confirm the hypothesis of their Asiatic original. The *EDDA* itself is little more than a collection of Indian mythological fables, relative to the origin of the world; the chaos; the impregnating spirit; the good and evil race; the contests of the giants; the inundation of the globe, &c. &c. This very writer, after a large extract from that book, and an ancient Runic poem, called the *VOLUSPA*, confirms my argument in the following remarkable comment.

“ It is easy to trace out in this narration vestiges of an ancient and general tradition, of which every sect of paganism hath altered, adorned, or suppressed, many circumstances, according to their own fancy, and which is now only to be found intire in the books of Moses. Let the strokes we have here produ-

* Mallet’s Northern Antiquities, p. 63, et seq.

ced be compared with the beginning of Hesiod's Theogony, with the mythology of some Asiatic nations, and with the book of Genesis, and we shall instantly be convinced, that the conformity which is found between many circumstances in their recitals cannot be the mere work of chance. Thus, in the Edda, the description of the Chaos; that vivifying breath which produces the giant Ymer; that sleep during which a male and female spring from his sides; that race of the sons of the gods; that deluge which only one man escapes with his family, by means of a bark; that renewal of the world which succeeds; that first man and first woman created by the gods, and who receive from them life and motion: all this seems to be only remains of a more ancient and more general belief, which the Scythians carried with them when they retired into the North, and which they altered more slowly than the other nations. One may discover also in the very nature of these alterations the same spirit of allegory, the same desire of accounting for all the phenomena of nature by fictions, which hath suggested to other nations the greatest part of the

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the fables with which their theology is infected.”*

The sublime notions of the deity inculcated in the Baghvat Geeta, and the Indian and Persian doctrine of subordinate intelligences guiding the revolving orbs, governing the world, and presiding over the elements of nature, are all discovered in their system of theological belief, as detailed by M. Mallet; and his representation of their ancient worship in vast forests, and uncovered shrines, forcibly brings to our recollection the wide-spreading banian-tree of India, the solemn groves of Mona, and the open temples of Stonchenge and Abury. “ Their religion forbade them to represent the divinity under any corporeal form. They were not even to think of confining him within the inclosure of walls, but were taught that it was only within woods and consecrated forests that they could serve him properly. There he seemed to reign in silence, and to make himself felt by the respect which he inspired. It was an injurious extravagance to attribute to this deity a human figure, to erect statues to

Mallet's Northern Antiquities, p. 108.

him,

him, to suppose him of any sex, or to represent him by images. From this supreme God were sprung (as it were, emanations of his divinity) an infinite number of subaltern deities and genii, of which every part of the visible world was the seat and temple. These intelligences did not barely reside in each part of nature; they directed its operations; it was the organ or instrument of their love or liberality to mankind. Each element was under the guidance of some being peculiar to it. The earth, the water, the fire, the air, the sun, moon, and stars, had each their respective divinity. The trees, forests, rivers, mountains, rocks, winds, thunder, and tempests, had the same; and merited on that score a religious worship, which, at first, could not be directed to the visible object, but to the intelligence with which it was animated. The motive of this worship was the fear of a deity irritated by the sins of men, but who, at the same time, was merciful, and capable of being appeased by prayer and repentance."*

A very just and ingenious remark of our author follows on the WATER and FIRE

* Mallet's Northern Antiquities, p. 80.

ORDEALS equally in use among the Indian and Northern nations; for he observes, that, as all the elements were supposed to be animated by an intelligence as incorruptible in its justice as the deity whence it sprang, they thought they had nothing to do but to unite the accused person to one of these divinities, and so oblige it to declare, by the manner of its acting upon him, what judgement it entertained of his innocence. Thus sometimes they cast him into a deep water, tied about with cords: if he sunk, that is, if the Genius of the water received him into its bosom, it declared him to be innocent: if it rejected him, if he swam upon the surface, he was considered as convicted of the crime. It was the same with their fire-ordeals; and he, who, unhurt, could thrust his hands into iron gauntlets, made red-hot, or could walk, at ease, over burning ploughshares, was concluded to be guiltless. From those Asiatic and Northern regions, in remote æras derived, a similar custom prevailed in Britain; and Dr. Percy, his translator, remarks, that, long after Christianity was established among the Anglo-Saxons, King Edward the Confessor (a reputed saint) is said to have put his mother to
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the proof of the burning ploughshares. And even down to our own times, the **WATERY ORDEAL**, or proof by swimming, has been employed by the vulgar for the trial of witchcraft, whenever they could find means to put it in practice.*

On the whole, nothing can be more strikingly true than what Pliny, speaking of the ancient Magian superstition, near eight hundred years ago, observed concerning the Druids of Britain; *Britannia hodie eam (Magiam) attonite celebrat tantis ceremoniis, ut eam Persis dedisse videri possit.*† But, as we have proved the Persians and Indians to have been originally the same race, and the Magi and Brachmans to have belonged to the same grand Eastern school, the hypothesis on which this Dissertation is built is proportionably corroborated by the remark of this ancient writer, and with this remark I conclude the second section.

* Mallet's Northern Antiquities, vol. i. p. 190.

† Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. xax. cap. 1.

SECTION III.

The Subject discussed in the last Section continued, by a farther Display and Parallel of the Superstitions of the Druids and Brabmins after the true patriarchal Theology became corrupted. — Worship of rude Stones in consecrated Groves and Caverns, and their sanguinary Sacrifices of Men and Beasts. — The horrible human Hecatombs of the more ferocious Druids in Wicker Inclosures. — The Veneration paid to Stones, conical, pyramidal, or placed in circular Heaps, Remains of the ancient solar Superstition, since his Disc, or Rays, were shadowed out under those Emblems. — The greater astronomical Cycles were also thus symbolized, since the Circles are generally formed of Sixty, Thirty, or Nineteen, columnar Stones; the First representing the grand

sexagenary Cycle of the Asiatic Astronomers; the Second, the celebrated Druid Age; the Third, the Metonic, or rather Indian, Cycle. — In this Light, and with this Clue, the Author proceeds to consider the most remarkable Druid Monuments of Britain. — The Carns, the Cromlech, the Logan, the Tolmeb of the Druids, successively described, and mythologically explained. — Stonebenge, a solar Temple; the great Circle the Disc of the Sun; the Number of Stones composing it, including Thirty Impost and Thirty Uprights, Sixty, the sexagenary Cycle; a Cycle first formed in India, but early adopted in China. — The Adytum, or Cove, of Stonebenge, an Oval, representing the mundane Egg, or Universe; its inner Circle of Stones, Nineteen in Number. — The grander serpentine Temple of Abury considered. — Serpents ever, in the East, Emblems of astronomical Cycles. — Their mythological History. — The great Circle of Columns at Abury, consisting of One Hundred Stones, represents the Sun's Progress through a Period of One Hundred

Hundred Years, or a complete Century. — The lesser Circle of Thirty, the Druid Age. — The least of Twelve, the Period of Jupiter's Revolution, which, multiplied by Five, forms in India the great sexagenary Cycle, as is well known to Gentlemen versed in Indian Astronomy; to whom the Author with Confidence appeals from the Imputation of Hypothesis.

HAVING in the preceding sections, from the first authority, shewn that the Northern Asia was principally possessed by two great nations, the one polished and literate, and the other barbarous and unlettered; having also shewn the original descent and the accidental mixture of those two nations, and traced the progress towards Europe of the great body of the Scythian, or Celtic, colonies, infected with all the superstitions of the Indian Buddha, or Woden of the North, that renowned, but obscure, character, who flourished at the commencement of the present age, or period, and who married Ila, whose father, according to Sanscreeet annals, was preserved in a miraculous ark from an univer-

fal deluge; we come, in the present section, to the consideration of the particular superstitions known to have flourished, during the earliest periods, in these islands; superstitions too congenial with those anciently celebrated in Asia, to allow any doubt of their having been imported by the earliest Asiatic settlers. The first that demands our attention is their attachment to

THE WORSHIP OF RUDE STONES IN CONSE-
CRATED GROVES; AND THEIR SANGUI-
NARY SACRIFICES OF MEN AND BEASTS.

UPON the commencement of the Theological Dissertation, in the first volume of the Indian Antiquities, I had occasion to remark, from Keyser, that the ancient Indo-Scythians performed their sanguinary sacrifices "under groves of oak of astonishing extent and of the profoundest gloom,"* and I cursorily traced the vestige of those barbarous rites in Gaul and Britain. I also instanced, from Herodo-

* Vol.ii. p. 36.

tus, their peculiar mode of sacrificing to the rusty cimeter, the symbol of Mars, the god Hesus of the Druids, the victims taken in war; and I adduced more than one instance of similitude which the national manners of Scythia bore to those of the war-tiibe of India. Without crediting all the extravagant assertions of Bailly and De Guignes, concerning the unfathomable antiquity of the primitive prototypal race of Asia, who were doubtless Cuthite colonies, at that remote imaginary period, *when the line of the equator passed through the middle of the vast deserts of Tartary, and made the frozen soil of Siberia fruitful*, we may safely allow the martial progeny of Scythia, by intermixture and commerce, to have influenced, in a great degree, the habits and customs of their Indian neighbours, and to have been reciprocally affected by those of the people with whom they thus accidentally communicated. I shall not attempt to ascertain in which region the very peculiar veneration which either nation entertained for sacred forests of immense extent originated; it is sufficient for my purpose that this very striking point of affinity anciently existed between the Tartarian and Brahmin magi. The relentless

Diana

Diana of the Tauric grove was probably no other than the stern Nareda, or Cali, of the Indians. Their characters are consentaneous, and their rites accord in dreadful unison. With the Scythians, a tall and stately tree, with wide-spreading arms, was the majestic emblem of God; and though Herodotus asserts that they had temples and images, his assertion is not confirmed by any other historian of antiquity. In fact, their temples consisted only of vast heaps of colossal stones, rudely, if at all, carved; and in the most unwieldy stone, as well as in the most lofty tree, they, like the Indians, contemplated the image of that Deity, of whom their perverted imaginations conceived the majesty and attributes to be best represented “by gigantic sculptures and massy symbols.”

While we are treating on this subject of the oaken groves of the Druids and the abominable sacrifices with which they were contaminated, it is impossible to avoid remarking how widely this very custom of venerating Bætyla, or consecrated stones, and of worshipping under oaks was diffused in the remotest periods over the whole Oriental world, and in what profound veneration this very tree was
holden

holden by the ancestors of the human race. It was under the consecrated oak that God and his holy messengers condescended to hold converse and to enter into solemn covenants with the patriarchs. "Abraham," we read, "passed through the land to the place of SICHEM, and (ad alloun Moreh) to the OAK-GROVE OF MOREH, where the Lord appeared unto him, and said, Unto thy seed will I give this land: and Abraham builded there an altar unto the Lord." *Gen.* xii. 6. In another part of Holy Writ we are informed, that "Joshua took a great stone, and set it up in Shechem, under AN OAK, that was by the *sanctuary of the Lord.*" *Joshua*, xxiv. 26. In process of time, however, the Jewish nation, relapsing into the Pagan superstitions, diverted their religious attention from the Deity who covenanted with their father Abraham under the oak, and paid it to the inanimate tree itself. For this conduct they are reproached by the prophet Isaiah. "They shall be ashamed of the OAKS which ye have desired, and ye shall be confounded for the groves which ye have chosen." *Isaiab*, i. 29. This ancient Oriental practice, therefore, of worshipping under, and venerating, the oak forms another decided feature
of

of affinity in the religion of the two nations, and is an additional evidence of their Asiatic descent.

In respect to that other ancient species of worship, the adoration of stones, whether they were single stones, as that which Jacob anointed and *set up for his pillar, calling the place BETH-EL*, that is, literally, *the house of God*; whether two-fold, like those which were so combined as emblematically to represent the active and passive powers of nature in the generation of all things; whether ternary, as those which were intended to shadow out the three-fold power of the Deity to create, to preserve, and to destroy; whether obeliscal, as those which symbolized the solar light; whether pyramidal, as those which expressively typified the column of ascending flame; or whether, finally, like the CAIRNS of the Druids, arranged in vast circular heaps, called by the ancients MERCURIAL: on all these various kinds of adoration, paid, by the infatuated superstition of past ages, to the unconscious block of rude granite, M. D'An-carville has presented the learned with a most elaborate dissertation, and he expressly deno-
minates

minates this species of worship SCYTHICISM.*

These grotesque and ponderous stones were placed in the centre of the most hallowed groves of the idolatrous Pagans, and it is most probable that they in general placed them, as we find them arranged in the Druid-temple of Stonehenge, in a circular manner; the SUN being the general object of ancient adoration, whose temples were always erected in a circular form. Like those of the Persians at Persepolis, they were open at the top; for, like them, the Scythians esteemed it impious to confine the Deity, who pervades all nature, and whose temple is earth and skies, within the narrow limits of a covered shrine, erected by mortal hands.

That profound veneration for rocks and stones of a grotesque form and enormous magnitude, which we have observed M. D'Ancarville denominates *Scythicism*, doubtless originated among a race accustomed to behold nature in the rugged dress which she assumes amidst "antres vast," and the abrupt pre-

* D'Ancarville's Preface to *Recherches sur l'Origine des Arts*, &c. p. 9 and 10.

cipices of mountains lofty and stupendous as the great Caucasus, which serves equally as a boundary to Scythia and India. This stone-worship, however, was not confined to the lofty romantic regions in the neighbourhood of the Caucasus. Instead of a statue, the Arabians of Petra worshipped λιθος μελας τετραγωνος, ατολωτος, a black square pillar of stone, without any figure or representation. It was the same deity, says Mr. Bryant, adored by the Germans and Celtæ, called Theutates, whose sacrifices were very cruel.* In the second volume of Indian Antiquities also, I have proved from Pocock, Ludolf, and Bruce, that the same species of worship was widely diffused through the Thebais of Egypt and Ethiopia, whose mountains exhibit scarcely less magnificent and terrific objects than those of the Tauric hills. A Deity was supposed to reside amidst the solitary grandeur of those rugged mis-shapen rocks; superstition aided a disturbed imagination to give the airy phantom a form gigantic as his imagined temple; to adorn him with the symbols of vengeance and terror; and invest him with

* Analysis, vol. i. p. 13.

attributes and properties congenial with their awe and apprehension. Hence it arose, that, with this species of rock-devotion, rites of a sombrous and melancholy nature were perpetually blended; and that their altars were stained with such torrents of *human* as well as *bestial* blood.

Concerning the sanguinary rites anciently practised in Druid groves, no stronger evidence or more impressive relation can be given than that before adduced by me from Lucan of those celebrated in the Massilian grove, which he describes as a place, gloomy, damp, and scarcely penetrable; a grove in which no sylvan deity ever resided, no bird ever sang, no beast ever slumbered, no gentle zephyr ever played, nor even the lightning could rend a passage. It was a place of blood and horror, abounding with altars reeking with the gore of human victims, by which all the trunks of the lofty and eternal oaks, which composed it, were dyed of a crimson colour: a black and turbid water rolled through it in many a winding stream: no soul ever entered the forlorn abode, except the priest, who, at noon, and at midnight, with paleness on his brow, and tremor in
his

his step, went thither to celebrate the horrible mysteries in honour of that terrific deity, whose aspect he yet dreaded more than death to behold.

The British Druids, however, seem to have exceeded, if possible, even their Gaulic neighbours in savage ferocity of soul and boundless lust of sacrificial blood. The pen of history trembles to relate the baleful orgies which their frantic superstition celebrated, when inclosing men, women, and children, in one vast wicker image, in the form of a man; and, filling it with every kind of combustibles, they set fire to the huge colossus. While the dreadful holocaust was offering to their sanguinary gods, the groans and shrieks of the consuming victims were drowned amidst shouts of barbarous triumph, and the air was rent with the wild dissonance of martial music. However incredible the imputation, it is not without reason suspected that they sometimes proceeded to even more criminal lengths, and finished their horrid sacrifice with a still more horrid banquet. Religion shudders at such a perversion of its name and rites; and humanity turns with horror from the guilty scene! Let us advert to less disgusting

gusting traits of ancient Druid superstition; and, having theologically considered their profound reverence for rocks and stones, let us endeavour, if we can, philosophically to account for that curious worship, as I am of opinion a great portion of astronomy was blended with and concealed under it.

THE DRUIDS, LIKE THE ANCIENT INDIAN RACE, WORSHIPPED THE SUN, UNDER THE FORM OF ERECT, CONICAL, AND PYRAMIDAL STONES; THE SYMBOLS OF THE SOLAR BEAM.

THE worship of the Druids was not confined within the gloomy verge of consecrated groves. The HIGH PLACES, also, or excelsa, anathematized in Scripture, dedicated to Baal and to Astarte, the queen of heaven, were greatly in vogue among the ancient priests of Britain. On its loftiest eminences it was their custom to pile up rude irregular heaps of stones, such possibly as those which, in purer devotion, Jacob anointed, and *set up for his pillar*, calling the place BETHEL, or *the house of God*.

Many of these sacred Mercurial heaps still remain on the summits of the mountains of Cornwall, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. Some of them are of immense magnitude, containing, according to Stukely, at least, a hundred cart-loads of stones of all sizes. They were called in the ancient Celtic language **CARNS**, being for the most part of a conical and pyramidal form, with a large flat stone invariably placed on the apex, on which the sacred fires, on the great festivals, were kindled. The Welch still call them *Carnedde*, which my author, Rowland, I have already observed, derives from the Hebrew **KEREN-NEDH**, *a coped heap*, alluding to the shape and figure of these cumuli, which were doubtless intended, like the pyramids of Egypt, and many of the cone-formed pagodas of India, to be symbolical of the ray of the Sun, the god they adored, and the fires occasionally lighted upon their summits indisputably demonstrate this fact. The worship of the Sun in reality was the basis both of the Eastern and Western superstition; and therefore, if we find obelisks and other erected pillars in Egypt and Asia, so may we naturally expect to *discover them in the British isles; and here they*

they *are* found dispersed over the country in the greatest abundance. In the very word obelisk we may trace the Oriental name of the solar deity BAL ; known to the Druids by the resembling title of Belenus, their god of fire, and apparent in the term BEALTINE, or the fires that flamed to Baal, all over the country on May-eve.

These obelisks were of various magnitude, height, and disposition. They sometimes consisted of a single stone, one of which in particular is mentioned by Dr. Borlase,* as standing, a short time before he wrote his book, twenty feet in height above the ground, and four feet buried in it. When clove up by the farmer, the owner of the land on which it stood, it made above twenty stone posts for gates. He thinks these rude monuments were the ancient idols of the country. They certainly were sacred, and had a mystical allusion. They were intended to be symbolical of their great deity, the SUN, and worshipped as such; they were also probably used as gnomons, to mark the length of the meridian shadow. Sometimes they were combined, as those dedicated

* Analysis, vol. i. p. 162.

to Baal and Astarte, the sun and moon, and those to Jupiter and Juno, Pluto and Proserpine, alluding to the junction of the heavenly bodies, or the marriage of those mythologic deities. Sometimes two stone columns were set up as sepulchral monuments, at the head and feet of the person interred; a practice still generally followed in English burying-grounds; and sometimes they were used as termini, as the pillars of Sesostris in Asia, and of Hercules at the ancient Gades; being the limits of his travels westward. Other erections of this kind were ternary, which are the true *Eppurta* of antiquity, or symbols of the god Mercury, consisting of two large stones, placed erect, with one laid across their summits. Those huge colossal stones near Kennet, in Oxfordshire, called, from their magnitude, the *Devil's Quoits*, are three in number; and, most likely, have reference to the solar worship. The celebrated pyramidal pillars, before-mentioned, as standing at Burrowbridge, in Yorkshire, are *four* in number, and are justly referred by Mr. Knight to the same source.

These grotesque and ponderous masses of unhewn stone, which, among a barbarous people, were revered as the symbols of deity,

deity, were not always pyramidal nor placed in an erect posture. Sometimes they were recumbent, and poised on their own base, as in the case of those immense ovals, which, in Cornwall, are called LOGAN, rocking or bowing stones. These prodigious stones the Druids had the art to persuade their infatuated disciples were inspired with the spirit of the indwelling deity, and to this awful test they brought the supposed criminal, over whose head the sword of justice was suspended, and the descent of which was alone delayed, till the animated mass, as he approached to touch it, by its tremulous motion declared him guilty. On this subject of the logan-stones, I am happy in being able to quote the high authority of Mr. Bryant, whose sentiments so remarkably confirm the hypothesis on which these pages proceed, of the wonderful antiquities, discussed in it, being the work of the first colonies that emigrated from Asia.

“It was usual,” says that learned writer, “in those times, with much labour to place one vast stone upon another for a religious memorial. The stones thus placed, they oftentimes poised so equably, that they were affected

with the least external force: nay a breath of wind would sometimes make them vibrate. We have many instances in our own country; and they are to be found in other parts of the world: and, wherever they occur, we may esteem them of the highest antiquity. All such works we generally refer to the Celts and Druids; under the sanction of which names we shelter ourselves, whenever we are ignorant and bewildered. But they were the operations of a very remote age; probably before the time when the Druids, or Celtæ, were first known. I question, whether there be in the world a monument, which is much prior to the celebrated Stonehenge. There is reason to think, that it was erected by a foreign colony; one of the first which came into the island. Here is extant, at this day, one of those rocking-stones, of which I have been speaking.

“ The ancients distinguished stones, erected with a religious view, by the name of *Amber*; by which was signified any thing solar and divine. The Grecians called them Πέτραι Ἀμβροσiai; and there are representations of such upon coins. Stonehenge is composed of these Amber-stones: hence the next town is denominated

denominated *Ambros-bury*: not from a Roman Ambrosius, for no such person existed; but from the *Ambrosiæ Petræ*, in whose vicinity it stands."*

In proof of what Mr. Bryant has here so justly observed, there absolutely existed, till destroyed by the rage of Cromwell's levelling faction, a logan-stone near Penzance, in Cornwall, of great magnitude and celebrity, called in the Cornish language MAIN-AMBER, to which the inhabitants had for ages paid a kind of superstitious respect. Near Penzance, says Camden, in whose days it existed, there is a very remarkable stone called *Main-Ambre*, which, though it be of a vast magnitude, yet may be moved with one finger: notwithstanding this, no violent exertion can push it from its place. The name is a translation of those *Petræ Ambrosiæ* of antiquity, and a print of it may be seen in Norden's History of Cornwall.

Near the *Main-Ambre* stands a famous Druidical temple called *Biscawoon*, consisting of *nineteen* pillars in a circle, with a central *Kebla*. Sir Robert Sibbald mentions these lo-

* Analysis, vol. iii. p. 533.

gan-stones as not uncommon in Scotland; and speaking of the rocking-stone near Belvaird, in Fife; "I am informed," says he, "that this stone was broken by the Usurper Cromwell's soldiers. It was discovered then that its motion was performed by a yolk extuberant in the middle of the under-surface of the uppermost stone, which was inserted in a cavity in the surface of the lower stone."

The next order of these ancient Druid stones not circular, that deserve notice, are the Cromlech, which are broad flat slabs, placed on high, in a horizontal position, upon others fixed on their edges in the ground, and were plainly intended for what their name imports, an altar for consecrated fire; the Hebrew being *Chærem-luach*, a devoted stone. That these Cromlech were really altars devoted to the solar worship, and not sepulchral monuments only, as Dr. Borlase intimates, though their partial application to that purpose may be allowed, since the most ancient tombs were temples, is evident from what the Doctor himself informs us, relative to one near Cloyne, in Ireland, which is named from the solar superstition Carig-Croith, *the rock of the Sun*. The Cromlech is generally placed on an eminence: the
covering-

covering-stones are fixed with the nicest geometrical precision ; and, notwithstanding the amazing dimensions of many of them, that of Lanyon, in Cornwall, being forty-seven feet in circumference, and nineteen feet long, have been raised by art to the great elevation at which they are sometimes found.

Traces of this species of stone altars and the worship performed upon them are still to be found, according to Mr. Mallet, in all those empires of Europe which are situated nearest to the northern confines of Asia. " We find at this day," says that writer, " in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, in the middle of a plain, or upon some eminence, altars, around which the ancient inhabitants assembled to offer sacrifices and to assist at other religious ceremonies. The greatest part of these altars are raised upon a little hill, either natural or artificial. Three long pieces of rock set upright serve as a basis to a great flat stone, which forms the table of the altar. There is commonly a pretty large cavity under this altar, which might be intended to receive the blood of the victims ; and they never fail to find stones for striking fire scattered round it ; for no other fire, but such as was struck forth

forth with a flint, was pure enough for so holy a purpose. Sometimes these rural altars are constructed in a more magnificent manner; a double range of enormous stones surround the altar and the little hill on which it is erected. In Zealand we see one of this kind; which is formed of stones of a prodigious magnitude. Men would even now be afraid to undertake such a work, notwithstanding all the assistance of the mechanic powers which in those times they wanted. What redoubles the astonishment is, that stones of that size are rarely to be seen throughout the island, and that they must have been brought from a great distance.”*

The dimensions of some of the Cromlechs, in Britain, have been mentioned as astonishing; but even those dimensions, vast as they are, are trifling compared with those of the last order of this species of Druid stones, which shall be here noticed, and which the indefatigable industry of Dr. Borlase first explored, described, and commented upon. His account of these stones, which he denominates **TOLMEN**, is so curious, his remarks on the mechanic powers known to the Druids so ingenious, and the kind of superstition practised

* Mallet's Northern Antiquities, vol. i. p. 126.

at these Tolmen is so congenial with that in vogue amidst the holy caverns and rocks of India, described in former volumes of this work, that I shall beg leave to transcribe the whole relation; especially as his curious volume may not be in the hands of many of my readers in India, who will be not a little surprised to find the great affinity existing between the manners and customs of their countrymen in England, and the wonderful people among whom their residence is at present fixed.

“There is another kind of stone deity, which has never been taken notice of by any author that I have heard of. Its common name, in Cornwall and Scilly, is Tolmen; that is, the Hole of Stone. It consists of a large orbicular stone, supported by two stones, betwixt which there is a passage. There are two of these in the Scilly Islands, one on St. Mary’s Island, at the bottom of Salakee-Downs; the top stone forty-five feet in girt, horizontally measured; the other, in the little island of Northwethel, thirty-three feet in girt horizontal, by twenty-four perpendicular, measurement. They are both on the decline of hills, beneath a large carn of rocks, standing on
two

two natural supporters ; the first has one exactly round basin on it ; the second has none, neither are there any basins on the rocks below or near it ; but elsewhere on the island there are several. Both these are probably erected by art ; and the top-stones, large as they are, brought from the cairns above, and placed by human strength where we see them. But the most astonishing monument of this kind is in the Tenement of Men, in the parish of Constantine, Cornwall. It is one vast egg-like stone, placed on the points of two natural rocks, so that a man may creep under the great one, and between its supporters, through a passage about three feet wide, and as much high. The longest diameter of this stone is thirty-three feet, pointing due north and south, end to end ; it is fourteen feet six inches deep ; and the breadth in the middle of the surface, where widest, was eighteen feet six inches wide from east to west. I measured one half of the circumference, and found it, according to my computation, forty-eight feet and a half, so that this stone is ninety-seven feet in circumference, about sixty feet across the middle, and, by the best informations I can get, contains at least
seven

seven hundred and fifty ton of stone. Getting up by a ladder to view the top of it, we found the whole surface worked, like an imperfect, or mutilated, honey-comb, into basons; one, much larger than the rest, was at the south-end, about seven feet long; another, at the north, about five; the rest smaller, seldom more than one foot, oftentimes not so much; the sides and shape irregular. Most of these basons discharge into the two principal ones (which lie in the middle of the surface), those only excepted which are near the brim of the stone, and they have little lips or channels, which discharge the water they collect over the sides of the Tolmen, and the flat rocks which lie underneath receive the droppings in basons cut into their surfaces. This stone is no less wonderful for its position than for its size; for although the under part is nearly semi-circular, yet it rests on the two large rocks; and so light and detached does it stand, that it touches the two under stones, but as it were on their points. The two Tolmens at Scilly are monuments evidently of the same kind with this, and of the same name; and these, with all of like structure, may with great probability, I think,

think, though of such stupendous weight, be asserted to be the works of art, the under stones in some instances appearing to have been fitted to receive and support the upper one. It is also plain, from their works at Stonehenge, and some of their other monuments, that the Druids had skill enough in the mechanical powers to lift vast weights; and the ancients, we know, in these rude works, spared no labour to accomplish their design; Haraldus, at one time (as Wormius informs us) employing his whole army, and a great number of cattle, to bring one single stone to the place intended. The ancients had powers of moving vast weights, of which we have now no idea; and in some of their works we find bodies even heavier and larger than this Tolmen. In the ruins of Balbeck (the ancient Heliopolis of Syria), there are three stones lying end to end, in the same row, extending sixty-one yards, and one of them is sixty-three feet long, the other two sixty each. Their depth is twelve feet, and their breadth the same, and, what adds to the wonder, they are raised up into the wall above twenty feet from the ground. And near the city of Alexandria stands what is vulgarly called

called Pompey's Pillar (but erected by one of the Ptolemies), the shaft of which consists of one solid granate stone, ninety feet high and thirty-eight in compass. Le Bruyn's Voyage, p. 171. Both these weights are greatly superior to that of this Tolmen.

“ In the area below this stone there are many great rocks, which have certainly been divided and split; but whether thrown down from the sides of the Tolmen, for the purposes above-mentioned, I will not pretend to determine. One thing is remarkable, which is, that these Tolmens rest on supporters, and do not touch the earth, agreeably to an established principle of the Druids, who thought every thing that was sacred would be profaned by touching the ground; and therefore, as I imagine, ordered it so, as that these deities should rest upon the pure rock, and not be defiled by touching the common earth. Another thing is worthy our notice in this kind of monuments, which is, that, underneath these vast stones, there is a hole, or passage, between the rocks. What use the ancients made of these passages, we can only guess; but we have reason to think, that when
stones

stones were once ritually consecrated, they attributed great and miraculous virtues to every part of them, and imagined, that whatever touched, lay down upon, was surrounded by, or passed through, or under, these stones, acquired thereby a kind of holiness, and became more acceptable to the gods. This passage might also be a sanctuary for the offender to fly to, and shelter himself from the pursuer; but I imagine it chiefly to have been intended and used for introducing Profelytes, or Novices, people under vows, or about to sacrifice, into their more sublime mysteries: for the same reason, I am apt to think, the vast architraves, or cross-stones, resting upon the uprights at Stonehenge, were erected; namely, with an intent to consecrate and prepare the worshippers, by passing through those holy rocks, for the better entering upon the offices which were to be performed in their *Penetralia*, the most sacred part of the temple.”*

In ancient Britain, therefore, at these Tolmen, or sacred cavity of stones, was performed the very same species of superstition alluded to in the second volume of this work; in which a passage through consecrated rocks

* Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 174, 175, 176.

is described as purifying the votary from the guilt of his crimes, and proved to have been in use in the ancient mysteries celebrated in the caverns of Mithra; the principal entrances into which, as into Stonehenge, Abury, and all other Druid stone temples, was from the NORTH and the SOUTH, called, in the Homeric description of the *cave of the nymphs*, commented on and amply explained by Porphyry, the NORTHERN and SOUTHERN GATES. At this very day something, very much resembling the ancient notion and practice of purification in sacred caverns, continues in vogue among the Hindoos in one of our own settlements. In the island of Bombay, about two miles from the town, rises a considerable hill, called Malabar-Hill, which, stretching into the ocean, by its projection, forms a kind of promontory. At the extreme point of this hill, on the descent towards the sea-shore, there is a rock, upon the surface of which there is a natural crevice which communicates with a cavity opening below, and terminating towards the sea. "This place," says an author, to whose printed account of it I was referred for corroborative evidence of its existence, "is used by the Gentoos as a purification for their

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fins, which, they say, is effected by their going in at the opening below, and emerging out of the cavity above. This cavity seems too narrow for persons of any consequence to squeeze through; the ceremony, however, is in such high repute in the neighbouring countries, that there is a tradition, that the famous Conajee Angria ventured, by stealth, one night upon the island, on purpose to perform this ceremony, and got off undiscovered."

CIRCULAR STONE-MONUMENTS WERE INTENDED AS DURABLE SYMBOLS OF ASTRONOMICAL CYCLES BY A RACE WHO REJECTED THE USE OF LETTERS.

AN equal astronomical mystery attended those famous circular stone monuments of the Druids, so numerous in Britain. They were, doubtless, intended to be descriptive of astronomical cycles by a race, who, not having, or politically forbidding, the use of letters, had no other permanent method of instructing their disciples, or handing down their knowledge to posterity. For the most part, the stone pillars which compose them are found to be *twelve* in
number,

number, alluding to the twelve months; and many to consist of *thirty*, in reference to the number of years, which, according to the Druids, formed an age, or generation, and was one of their favourite cycles, or else to that of the days of which the ancient lunar month consisted: It is remarkable, that the circle of stones, forming the grand area of the temple at Abury, according to Stukeley, consists exactly of one hundred stones, in allusion to the century; of the two circular temples, inclosed in that grand area, the outermost is composed of thirty stones, the innermost circle of twelve, with an immense stone in the centre twenty-one feet high, which was indisputably the stupendous gnomon, or stylus, of that mighty sun-dial. That the Egyptian obelisks were, in the same manner, used as gnomons, I have proved in the third volume of these Antiquities, and how much, in general, the Oriental astronomers were accustomed to use astronomical instruments of extraordinary magnitude, is evident from what we read in Greaves's PYRAMIDOGRAPHIA, and in Hyde, of the quadrant used by the Persian monarch and astronomer, Ulug Beg, which was as high as the dome of Sancta Sophia, at Constantinople; or one hundred

and eighty Roman feet.* Dr. Borlase mentions four of these circles yet remaining in the hundred of Penweth, in Cornwall,† not eight miles asunder, which have nineteen stones each, and he is of opinion they allude to the two principal divisions of the year, the *twelve* months, and the *seven* days of the week. It is, however, my opinion, that the Druids knew, and meant to record by this number, the celebrated cycle of *nineteen years*, supposed to have been first invented by Meton, the Grecian astronomer, but known to the Indians, and entering into their calculations, in the earliest ages of the world, and consequently to their disciples who emigrated to the West.

As all circular monuments of this kind, but more especially those consisting of twelve columnal stones, were meant either as representations of the disk of the Sun, or the revolution of his orb through the twelve signs of the Zodiac, so all semi-circular ones shadowed out the lunar phænomena; but such dreadful havoc has been made of these venerable vestiges

* See Ulug Beg's Fixed Stars, and Greaves's Works, vol. i. p. 80.

† Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 191.

of Druid superstition, and of their laborious detail in astronomical science, that, in most of them, the exact number of stones, of which they anciently consisted, cannot now be ascertained. Stonehenge, however, may be adduced as a magnificent instance of the former assertion; and there are two others which have an undoubted reference to the lunar devotion, although conceived by some antiquaries to have been formed for the purpose of theatrical exhibition. The one is in Anglesea, the ancient Mona, in a place called Trer Drew, or Druid's Town, a place too sacred for theatrical exhibitions; the other is in Mainland, in the isle of Orkney, and the crescent-like forms of both evince the original purpose of their fabrication. Mr. Toland, in his *History of the Druids*,* confirms this circumstance, by saying, that ancient traditions, immemorially preserved on the spot, assert their dedication to the Sun and Moon. Thus we read in that History: "East of Druncrui, in the isle of Orran, is a circular temple, the diameter of whose area is thirty paces; and in the south of the same village another, in the centre of which still

* *History of the Druids*, vol. i. p. 89, et seq.

remains the altar, consisting of a thin broad stone, supported by three others. In the greatest island of the Orkneys, commonly called Mainland, are likewise two temples near Lockstenis, one of which is by ancient tradition believed to have been dedicated to the Sun and the other to the Moon; they are each of them surrounded by a trench, like that about Stonehenge; many of the stones are above twenty or twenty-four feet high, five broad, and one or two thick. Near the lesser temple, stand two stones of the same bigness with the rest, through the middle of one of which is a hole, which served to fasten victims or the wicker Colossus, in which crowds of persons were burnt alive. At Biscaw-woon, near St. Burien's, in Cornwall, is a circular temple, consisting of *nineteen* stones, distant from each other *twelve* feet, having another in the centre much higher than the rest." The same writer describes a remarkable Druid temple still remaining entire at Harries, one of the Western islands of Scotland, and the most westerly of them all, which exhibits, in its plan, both astronomical science and strong remains of that physical worship to which the ancients were so grossly addicted, as it seems to have been

been erected to the Sun and the Elements, and in it, he informs us, Apollo, the deity of Claſſerniſs, was adored. The body of this temple conſiſts of twelve obeliſks, or columns, placed circularly, about ſeven feet high, two broad, and ſix diſtant from one another, with one thirteen feet high in the centre, ſhaped like the rudder of a ſhip, doubtleſs the gnomon. It has likewiſe four wings, ſtretching out from its ſides, conſiſting of four columns each, pointing directly eaſt, ſouth, weſt, and north, to repreſent either the four elements, or the four cardinal points, as the twelve pillars doubtleſs were intended to denote the twelve ſigns of the Zodiac. The avenue, which is north, conſiſts of two rows of columns, of the ſame ſize, and is erected at the ſame diſtances as the former: the breadth of the avenue is eight feet, and the ſtones compoſing each ſide nineteen in number, a ſtrong additional proof of their acquaintance with the ancient Indian cycle of nineteen years.*

* Hiſtory of the Druids, vol. 1. p. 50.

STONEHENGE, A STUPENDOUS SOLAR TEMPLE:

THE CIRCLE INDICATES HIS DISK; AND THE
NUMBER OF STONES FORMING IT—BEING
SIXTY, THE GREAT SEXAGENARY CYCLE
OF THE ASIATIC ASTRONOMERS.

BUT, of all the circular temples of the Druids, as STONEHENGE is the most considerable, a description of it, from the most ancient and the most modern writer on that subject, waving all intermediate ones, is here presented to the reader. I take it for granted, that the passage cited by Diodorus, from Hecataeus, and before alluded to by Mr. Knight, is this identical temple of Stonehenge, or CHOIR GAUR, its ancient British name, meaning, according to Stukeley, the *great cathedral*, or *grand choir*; and surely no national church could ever better deserve that distinguished appellation.

Diodorus relates that there is an island to the north, or under the Bear, beyond the Celtæ, meaning Gaul, little inferior in magnitude to Sicily, in which the Hyperborean race, as the Greeks denominated all those nations
that

that were situated north of the Straights of Hercules, adored Apollo, as the supreme divinity. That in it was a magnificent consecrated grove with a circular temple, to which the priests of the island frequently resorted with their harps to chaunt the praises of Apollo, who, for the space of *nineteen years*, (the famous astronomical cycle of the Druids,) used to come and converse with them, and what is more remarkable, they could (as if, says Rowland, they had the use of telescopes, and I believe *they had*) shew the moon very near them, and discover therein mountains and heaps of caverns.* He describes the island as a fruitful and pleasant island, and relates that most of the inhabitants of it were priests and songsters. He adds, that they had a language of their own; and that some Greeks had been in it and presented valuable gifts to their temple, with Greek inscriptions on them, and that one Abaris came from them to Greece, and contracted friendship with the Delians. He concludes with saying, that, over their sacred town and temple, there presided a sort of men called Boreadæ, (so denominated

* Diod. Sic. lib. ii. p. 130.

by the Grecians of that day,) who were their priests and rulers.

Such is the account given near two thousand years ago of this celebrated temple, for it could mean no other, by Diodorús, the Sicilian, from a writer still prior in time. I shall now, for the benefit of those of my readers who may not be possessed of Stukeley and other expensive writers on the subject, insert the most recent, and, I believe, the most accurate, account of this grand but ruinous fabric extant; it is by Mr. Gough, in the new edition of Camden's Britannia.

“STONEHENGE stands in the middle of a fine flat area, near the summit of a hill, and is inclosed with a circular double bank and ditch, near thirty feet broad, the vallum inwards; after crossing which, we ascend thirty yards before we reach the work.

“The whole forms a circle of about one hundred and eight feet diameter, from out to out, consisting, when entire, of sixty stones, thirty upright and thirty imposts; of which remain only twenty four upright, seventeen standing and seven down, three feet and a half asunder, and eight imposts.

“Eleven

“ Eleven uprights have their five imposts on them by the grand entrance. These stones are from thirteen to twenty feet high. The lesser circle is somewhat more than eight feet from the inside of the outer one, and consisted of forty lesser stones, (the highest six feet,) of which only nineteen remain, and only eleven standing: the walk between these two circles is three hundred feet in circumference. The adytum, or cell, is an oval, formed of ten stones, (from sixteen to twenty-two feet high,) in pairs, with imposts, which Dr. Stukeley calls trilithons, and above thirty feet high, rising in height as they go round, and each pair separate, and not connected as the outer pair; the highest eight feet. Within these are nineteen more smaller stones, of which only six are standing. At the upper end of the adytum is an altar, a large slab of blue coarse marble, twenty inches thick, sixteen feet long, and four broad; pressed down by the weight of the vast stones that have fallen upon it. The whole number of stones, uprights, imposts, and altars, is exactly one hundred and forty. The stones are far from being artificial, but were, most probably, brought from those called the Grey Weathers, on Marlborough-Downs,

fifteen

fifteen or sixteen miles off; and, if tried with a tool, they appear of the same hardness, grain, and colour; generally reddish. The heads of oxen, deer, and other beasts, have been found in digging in and about Stonehenge; but the human bones our author speaks of only in the circumjacent barrows.

“ Dr. Stukeley, in 1723, dug on the inside of the altar, to a bed of solid chalk, mixed with flints. In the reign of Henry VIII. was found here a plate of tin, inscribed with many letters, but in so strange a character, that neither Sir Thomas Elliott, a learned antiquary, nor Mr. Lilly, master of St. Paul’s school, could make them out. This plate, to the great loss of the learned world, was soon after lost.

“ Two stone pillars appear at the foot of the bank next the area in which the buildings stand; and those are answered by two spherical pits, at the foot of the said bank, one with a single bank of earth about it, and the other with a double bank, separated by a ditch.

“ There are three entrances from the plain to the structure, the most considerable of which is from the north-east; and at each of them were raised, on the outside of the trench, two huge stones, with two smaller within, parallel
to

to them. The avenues to Stonehenge was first observed by Mr. Aubrey. Dr. Stukeley found that it had extended more than one thousand seven hundred feet down to the bottom of the valley, and was raised a little above the Downs, between two ditches. At the bottom it turns off to the right, or east, with a circular sweep, and then in a strait line goes up the hill between two groups of seven barrows each, called the King's Graves. The other branch points north-west, and enters the Cursus. This is half a mile north from Stonehenge, ten thousand feet, or two miles, long, inclosed by two ditches, three hundred and fifty feet asunder."

There is no occasion for my troubling the reader with any extended observations on these accounts of STONEHENGE. Whoever has read, or may be inclined to read, my history of the origin of Oriental Architecture, as connected with the astronomical and mythological notions of the ancients, printed in the third volume of this work, and inserted there purposefully to serve as his guide in the consideration of the form and ornaments of the sacred fabrics of Asia, during the farther investigation of the physical theology of the East, may see most of
the

the assertions realized in the form and arrangement of this old Druid temple. For, in the first place, it is circular, as it is there proved all ancient temples to the Sun and Vesta, or *elementary fire*, invariably were; in the second place, the adytum, or *sanctum sanc-torum*, is of an *oval* form, representing the *mundane egg*, after the manner that all those adyta, in which the sacred fire perpetually blazed, the emblem of that vivacious invigorating energy, which, pervading the centre, warms and animates the whole universe, were constantly fabricated; in the third place, the situation is fixed astronomically, as we shall make fully evident when we come to speak of Abury, the grand entrances both of this temple and that superb monument of antiquity being placed exactly *north-east*, as all the *gates*, or portals, of the ancient caverns and cavern-temples were, especially those dedicated to Mithra, that is, the Sun, who rises in the east; and who, in his northern course, sheds his most benign influences, for which reason the Indians exult in dying when the sun is to the north of the equator; in the fourth place, the number of stones and uprights, making together exactly *sixty*, plainly alludes to that peculiar

liar and prominent feature of Asiatic astronomy, the SEXAGENARY CYCLE, being entirely of Indian and Chinese invention, and, as we shall hereafter shew the multiple of five revolutions of the planet Jupiter, while the number of stones forming the inner circle of the cove, being exactly *nineteen*, again displays to us the famous Metonic, or rather Indian, cycle, and that of *thirty*, repeatedly occurring, the celebrated age, or generation, of the Druids; fifthly, the temple, being uncovered, proves it to have been erected under impressions similar to those which animated the ancient Persians, who rejected the impious idea of confining the Deity, whose temple is earth and skies, within the scanty limits of an inclosed shrine, however magnificent, and therefore consequently, at all events, it must have been erected before the æra of Zoroaster, who flourished more than five hundred years before Christ, and who first covered in the Persian temples to save from extinction, by the violence of wind and rain, the consecrated fires; and, finally, the head and horns of oxen and other animals, found buried on the spot, prove that the sanguinary rites peculiar to the solar superstition, and more particularly the Gomedha, or bull sacrifice

sacrifice of India, were actually practised within the awful bounds of this hallowed circle.

ROLLDRICH, MEANING THE DRUIDS' WHEEL,
OR CIRCLE, A SOLAR TEMPLE: THE WHEEL
A SACRED EMBLEM IN INDIA, AND ALLU-
DING TO THE ROTA SOLIS.

THE circular temple next in fame and magnitude to Stonehenge is that called ROLLDRICH, near Chipping-Norton, in Oxfordshire. It is described by Stukeley, in his *Abury*, as an open temple of a circular form, made of stones set upright in the ground. The columns that compose the circle of this temple, like those of Stonehenge, are rough and unhewn, and the whole bears even stronger marks of age and decay than that venerable pile; for they appeared to our author to resemble worm-eaten wood, rather than stone. The very name of this ancient work, which is in the most ancient British dialect, indisputably proves it to be of Druid original. Camden calls this circle *Rolle-rich stones*, and it is remarkable, that, in a book repositied in the Exchequer, supposed by Dr. Stukeley to be

Doomsday-

Doomsday-Book, the name of the adjacent town is stated to be Rollendrich. Now the term Rollendrich, if rightly spelled, according to the ancient orthography, the Doctor contends should be written Rholdrwyg, which means the *Druids' wheel*, or *circle*.

Dr. Stukcley farther infers this to have been a Druid temple from the measure on which it is erected. In a letter which he received from Mr. Gale, dated Worcester, Aug. 19, 1719, after that gentleman had visited the antiquity at his request, he acquaints him, that the diameter of the circle was thirty-five yards. The Bishop of London also wrote him word, that the distance, at Stonehenge, from the entrance of the area to the temple itself was thirty-five yards; and that the diameter of Stonehenge itself was thirty-five yards. He supposes this admeasurement not to have been made with mathematical exactness; but observes, when we look into the comparative scale of English feet and cubits, we discern sixty cubits of the Druids is the measure sought for. The diameter of the outer circle of Stonehenge and this circle at Rollendrich is exactly equal. The circle itself is composed of stones of various shapes and dimensions, set pretty near toge-

ther. They are flattish, about sixteen inches thick. Originally there seems to have been *sixty* in number, at present there are twenty-two standing, few exceeding four foot in height; but one in the very north point much higher than the rest, seven foot high, five and a half broad. There was an entrance to it from the *north-east*, as is the case at Stonehenge.

To this account of Stukeley I have only to add, from Camden, that the country-people in the neighbourhood have a tradition, that these stones were once *men*, thus transformed; that in the number of stones composing this circle we find again the sexagenary cycle of the Asiatics, and that a *wheel* was equally a sacred symbol in India as with the Druids; the figure of a very large wheel being cut deep on the rock in the very front of the Elephanta pagoda. The wheel was probably an ancient emblem of astronomical cycles; or rather, as a very ingenious friend of mine, Mr. Frere, one of the authors of that extraordinary production of juvenile genius, the Eton Microcosm, judiciously intimated to me, on mentioning the singular circumstance of a *wheel* occurring so often in the antiquities both of India and
Britain,

Britain, it was the *rota solis* to which their peculiar superstition led those infatuated idolaters continually to allude. In truth, by that expression, the Latin writers meant the orb of the sun, *rota pro solis orbe usurpatur*, says Stephanus; as the Greeks used the word *δίσκος*.

I proceed to present the reader, from Mr. Gough's Camden, with an account of the serpentine temple of Abury; only premising a few general observations concerning THE ANCIENT SERPENT-WORSHIP.

It is impossible to say in what country the worship of serpents first originated.

The serpent was probably a symbol of the *κακοδαίμων*, or evil genius: and those whose fears led them to adore, by way of pacifying, the evil dæmon, erected to the serpent the first altar. In succeeding periods, its annual renewing of its skin, added to the great age to which it sometimes arrived, induced the primitive race to make it the symbol of immortality. Serpents biting their tails, or interwoven in rings, were thenceforwards their favourite symbols of vast astronomical cycles, of the zodiac, and sometimes of eternity itself. In this usage of the symbol we see it

infolding all the statues of gods and deified rajahs in the sacred caverns of Salsette and Elephanta. Symbols also being the arbitrary sensible signs of intellectual ideas, in moral philosophy, the serpent, doubtless, from what they themselves observed of it and from the Mosaic tradition concerning its being more subtle than any other animal, became the emblem of wisdom. In the ancient hieroglyphical alphabet, it forms the figure S. It was therefore, mythology and philosophy that, in my opinion, though I know that opinion is contrary to the judgement of Dr. Stukeley, which I shall hereafter give at large on this curious and interesting subject, that first exalted the serpent, from being considered as an evil dæmon, and a symbol of evil, to the rank of a good dæmon, and to be regarded as the symbol of a benign and perfect numen.

An ancient Phœnician fragment, preserved for posterity in the *OEdipus Ægyptiacus*, fully explains the notion which the Egyptians and other Pagan nations entertained of this compound hieroglyphic, the *GLOBE*, *WINGS*, and *SERPENT*, which decorated the portals of their proudest temples. Jupiter, says the fragment, is an imagined sphere: from that
sphere

sphere is produced a serpent. The sphere shews the divine nature to be without beginning or end; the serpent his Word, which animates the world, and makes it prolific; his wings, the Spirit of God, that by its motion gives life to the whole mundane system.

This is farther confirmed by Stukeley in the following passage in his Abury.

We learn repeatedly from Sanchoniathon, Porphyry, and other ancient authors quoted by Eusebius in the *Præparatio Evangelica*, that the first sages of the world had just and true notions of the nature of the Deity, conformable to those of the Christians: that, in their hieroglyphic way of writing, they designed the Deity and his mysterious nature by the sacred figure of the circle, serpent, and wings. Of these, the circle meant the Fountain of all Being; for, this being the most perfect and comprehensive of all geometrical figures, they designed it for the symbol of the First and Supreme Being; whose resemblance we cannot find, whose centre is every where, and whose circumference is no where. The serpent symbolized the Son, or first divine emanation from the Supreme. This they

called by the name of Ptha, which is derived from the Hebrew, meaning the WORD. The wings symbolized that divine Person or Emanation from the former, commonly called *Anima Mundi*, but the Egyptians called him KNEPH, which in Hebrew signifies winged.

A B U R Y ;

A MAGNIFICENT DRUIDICAL TEMPLE OF THE SERPENTINE KIND.

About a mile from Silbury-Hill is Abury, a stupendous monument of Druidism, first noticed by the inquisitive Mr. Aubrey, and since accurately surveyed and commented on by the indefatigable Dr. Stukeley. A village of that name being built within its circuit, and out of its stones; the gardens, orchards, and other inclosures, have both disfigured and concealed the great original plan.

The whole is environed with an immense circular rampart, or terrace, of earth, sixty feet broad; and a ditch within it, of the same breadth. The diameter is one thousand four hundred feet, the circumference four-thousand

sand

sand eight hundred feet, and the area inclosed twenty-two acres; through the centre of which runs the high road from Marlborough to Bath. The first circle of stones within this area is thirteen thousand feet diameter, and consists of one hundred stones, from fifteen to seventeen feet square, reduced, in 1722, to forty, of which, only seventeen were standing, and about forty-three feet asunder, measuring from the centre of each stone.

Within this great circle, were two lesser, each consisting of two concentric circles, the outermost of thirty, the inner of twelve, stones, of the same size, and at the same distance from each other as the others. The southermost of these circular temples had a single stone in its centre twenty-one feet high: the northernmost a cell or kebla, formed of three stones, placed with an obtuse angle, towards each opening to the north-east; before which lay the altar, as at Stonehenge. Both these temples were almost entire about the year 1716; of the north temple, outer circle, only three stones remained standing in 1723, and six down: of the south temple fourteen, half of them standing.

In the south end of the line, connecting the centres of these two temples, is a middle-sized stone, with a hole in it, perhaps to fasten the victims to. Numbers of these stones have been broken by burning, to build houses with; and others buried, to gain the ground they stood on for pasture. The two original entrances to this stupendous work were from the south-east and the west, and each had an avenue of stones. The first of these, or Kennet-avenue, was a mile long, of one hundred and ninety stones on a side, of which remained seventy-two, in 1720, terminating at Overton-Hill, which overhangs the town of West Kennet, and on which was another double circle of forty, and eighteen other stones.

This was called, by the common people, the Sanctuary, and is described by Mr. Aubrey as a double circle of stones, four or five feet high; the diameter of the outer circle forty yards, and of the inner fifteen: many were fallen, and now there is not one left. He speaks of the wall leading to it, set with large stones, of which, he says, one side was nearly entire; the other side wanted a great many. He noticed only one avenue from Abury to Overton-

Overton-Hill, having no apprehension of the double curve it makes: but he erred in saying there was a circular ditch on Overton-Hill. From the west side of Abury goes another avenue to Beckampton, of the same length, and composed of the same number of stones, of which scarce any remain. On the north of this avenue was Longstones; a cove of three stones, facing the south-east; its back made of one of the stones of the avenue. It stood on a little eminence, and served as a chapel. This stone and another flat one are each sixteen feet high and broad, and three and a half thick: the third carried off. Aubrey calls these the Devil's Quoits. Not far from them is Longstone Long-Barrow.

Dr. Stukeley calculated the total number of stones employed to form this stupendous work of Druidism, with its avenues and Overton-Temple, at six hundred and fifty. He supposed that altogether, when entire, it represented the Deity by a serpent and circle; the former represented by the two avenues, Overton-Temple being its head; the latter by the great work within the vallum at Abury.

At present, there only remains a few stones standing of this once magnificent and extraordinary

ordinary monument of Druidical architecture, so constructed, and of such materials, as to warrant the supposition, that neither the ravages of time, nor the chance of incident, could so effectually have obliterated it for many ages to come.

Windmill-Hill, north of Abury, is encompassed with a circular trench, covered with barrows; in one of which Dr. Stukeley found an urn. The stones employed in all those works, from fifty to seventy tons weight, are the same as those at Stonehenge, brought from Marlborough-Downs, where the country-people call them *SARSENS*, from a Phœnician word for a *rock*.

As this stupendous temple of Abury was first discovered and traced in all its directions by the indefatigable industry of Dr. Stukeley, in searching out the venerable remains of Druidical antiquity in Britain, and as that ingenious author has made the history both of serpents and serpentine temples the peculiar object of laborious inquiry in his second volume, it is but just that he should be permitted fully to explain his own sentiments on the subject, which he does in a more learned and impressive manner than I can pretend to
do

do for him. The quotation that follows is full as applicable to Asiatic as British antiquities, and remarkably corroborates not only most of the preceding assertions in this volume, but the general hypothesis on which this work and the Indian history proceeds.

DRACONTIA, OR SERPENTINE TEMPLES, AND
THE NATURAL HISTORY OF SERPENTS
CONSIDERED.

“ Dracontia,” says our author, “ was a name among the first learned nations, for the very ancient sort of temples, of which they could give no account, nor well explain their meaning upon it.

“ Servius, on the second *Æneid*, writes, ‘ *anguis* is a proper name of the water-snake, *serpens* of the land, *draco* of those belonging to temples.’ This latter unavoidably brings to our mind the temples of the ancients kept by dragons, which we so frequently meet with in classical history. And we may well presume they mean such temples as this of Abury, Dracontia.

“ ‘ The

“ ‘The serpent,’ says Maximus of Tyre, *Dissert.* 38. ‘was the great symbol of the Deity to most nations, and, as such, was worshipped by the Indians.’ The temples of old, made in the form of a serpent, were called, for that reason, *Dracontia*. The universality of this regard for serpents shews the high antiquity of the symbol, and that it was antediluvian.

“ In truth, the first learning in the world consisted chiefly in symbols. The wisdom of the Chaldeans, Phœnicians, Egyptians, Jews, of Zoroaster, Sanchoniathon, Pherecydes Syrus, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, of all the ancients, that is come to our hand, is symbolic. ‘It was the mode,’ says Serranus on Plato’s *Symposium*, ‘of the ancient philosophers, to represent truth by certain symbols and hidden images.’ That the Druids studied in this enigmatic and symbolic way, appears from what we are writing upon; and Diogenes Laertius, in his proem, affirms it of them. HeranksthemwiththeMagi, Chaldeans, and Gymnosophists, gives some of their doctrines, and makes them rather more ancient than the Egyptians, meaning the learned among the Egyptians. He says, ‘the Gymnosophists

are descended of the Magi, and, some affirm, the Jews too.' He means the ancestors of the Jews, Abraham in particular. I believe, Druids, Chaldeans, Gymnosophists, and Egyptians, all descended, or rather disciples, of the Magi, who were the first and patriarchal priests after the flood. Sanchoniathon calls Shem, as I take it, by the name of Magus, as the prince of the order. He says the Egyptians veil their doctrines under the figure of beetles, snakes, birds, and other animals. And it seems to be the origin of animal-worship in Egypt.

" This symbol of the snake and circle, which is the picture of the temple of Abury, we see on innumerable Egyptian monuments. Always it holds the uppermost, the first and chief place; which shews its high dignity.

" Mr. Selden, upon the Arundel marbles, p. 123, says, ' this figure in abbreviated writing, among the Greeks, signifies *Δαίμων*, the Deity.' And Kircher, in his third tome, affirms the like of the Brachmans of the East-Indies.

" I can by no means admit it to be an Egyptian invention. The Egyptians took this, and hieroglyphic writing in general, from the
common

common ancestors of mankind. This is sufficiently proved from the universality of the thing, reaching from China in the east, to Britain in the west, nay, and into America too.

“Nothing of so high account among the Chinese as the representation of dragons and serpents, as we see in all their pictures and utensils; nay, the very stamps upon their ink. It is the genial banner of their empire. It means every thing that is sacred among them. In Baron Vischer’s elegant book of ancient architecture, Tab. XV. you have the picture of a Chinese triumphal arch (of which there are many in the city of Pekin); twice upon it is pictured, in a tablet over the front, a circle and two snakes, as on Egyptian works. They adorn their temples, houses, habits, and every thing, with this figure, as a common *prophylaxis*. I apprehend it was from the beginning a sacred amuletic character. It is carved several times on the cornishes of the temple (I take it so to be) of Persepolis, as we see in Sir John Chardin, Le Brun, Kæmpfer. Dragons were the Parthian ensigns, from whom the Romans, in later times, took
 them,

them, and our Saxon ancestors from the Romans. It is a known verse in the Satyrist,

Pinge duos angues, facer est locus.

“ If we consider the natural history of this animal, we must allow the serpent-kind, as to their outward appearance, to be among the most beautiful creatures in the world. The poets, those great masters of nature, are luxuriant in their descriptions of them, comparing them to the most glorious appearance in the universe, the rainbow.

Thus Virgil, *Æneid V.*

*Cæruleæ cui terga notæ, maculosus & auro
Squamam incendebat fulgor; ceu nubibus arcus
Mille trahit varios, adverso sole colores.*

Thus Lucan,

Serpitis aurato nitidi fulgore dracones.

——— *Cristis præsignis & auro.*

Ignem micant oculi. ———

OID MET. 3.

Of Cadmus's snake.

“ Hephæstion II. writes concerning the hydra of Hercules, that half his head was of gold. I saw a snake of such exquisite beauty in Surrey. The motion and the appearance or
bright

bright golden colour, being so like to angelic seraphic beings, no wonder the ancients conceived so high a regard for the serpent, as to reckon it a most divine animal. There is a kind of them bred in Arabia and Africa, of a shining yellow colour, like brass, or burnished gold, which in motion reflects the sun-beams with inconceivable lustre. Some of them are said to have wings, called Seraphs, Saraphs, Seraphim, mentioned *Deut.* xii. 15: this is the name given to the brazen serpent: and equally to the angels and celestial messengers, who are described of this appearance, in Scripture. So the cherubim that supported the Shechinah in *Ezekiel* i. 7, ‘Sparkled like the colour of burnished brass.’ The divine appearance between the candlesticks in *Apocalypse* i. 15. ‘His feet were like to fine brass, as if they burned in a furnace.’ Hence his ministers are called a flame of fire, *Psalms* civ. 4.

“Secondly, consider the *motion* of a serpent; it is wonderful; performed without the help of legs, nay incomparably quicker than their kindred of the crocodile and lizard kind, which have four legs. It is swift, smooth, wavy, and beautiful. The ancients conceived it to be like the walking of the gods; whence the notion

tion of deified heroes with serpents feet: Phercydes Syrus says, the gods have snakes feet: meaning their motion was smooth and sweeping, without the alternate use of legs.

“ Heliodorus III. speaks of the wavy motion of the gods, not by opening their feet, but with a certain aerial force: it was called *incessus*. *Non ambulamus, sed incedimus*, says Seneca,

Ast ego, quæ divûm *incedo* regina, Jovisque
Et foror & conjux ——— VIRG. ÆN. I.

Et vera *incessu* patuit dea.

“ So the prophet Ezekiel describes the motion of the azlate globes under the cherubims feet, as it ought to be understood, *Ezek. i. 12*. Sanchoniathon the Phœnician in *Euseb. lib. i. p. 7*, writes, that the nature of serpents is divine. ‘ It is the most spiritual animal of all, and fiery; it performs all its various motions by its spirit, without other organs; and much more of this kind to our purpose.’ *Jerem. xlv. 22*, the shout and the march of an army are compared to the motion of a serpent.

“ Thirdly, from the form, pass we to the *mind* of the serpent, if we may be allowed so to talk. The wisdom of this creature is cele-

brated from the time of creation itself. Moses writes, it was more subtle than any other creature, *Genes.* iii. 1. Our Saviour recommends to the ministry to imitate the prudence of serpents, as well as the innocence of doves: he makes it the symbol of Christian prudence. The Psalmist compares the slyness of the wicked to the serpent, which refuses to be charmed. Aristotle writes, that this animal is very crafty; but if we inquire into authors concerning this wisdom of the creature, nothing occurs satisfactory: in truth it is figurative and symbolical; meaning the charm of rhetoric and oratory, taken from the divided tongue of this creature, and more especially regarding the preachers of evangelical truths: *δυσλωσσια* among the ancients was prudence. Our Saviour, in the forecited place of the Apocalypse, is represented with a two-edged sword in his mouth, meaning the efficacy of preaching. The people affirmed ‘never man spake like this man:’ and he sent the divine spirit of eloquence and languages upon his apostles, in the likeness of cloven tongues of fire.

“Servius on the second *Æneid*, speaking of the tongue of Laacoon’s serpent, says,

Sibila lambebant linguis vibrantibus ora,

and

and tells us, no creature moves its tongue with so much swiftneſs ; ſo that it ſeems triple.

—— Trefque vibrant linguæ ——

Says Ovid of Cadmus's ſnake.

“ The tongue was the only active arms of the apoſtles, as the biſid tongue of the ſerpent is its only weapon ; and which, as the ancients thought, carried life and death with it.

“ From the numerous and credible accounts I have ſeen, ſnakes, I am perſuaded, have a power of charming, by looking ſtedfaſtly with their fiery eyes on birds, mice, and ſuch creatures as they prey upon. They are put into ſuch an agony, as to run by degrees into their open mouth. Farther, ſnakes were thought to have an enchanting power, not only with their eyes, but likewise by whiſpering into the ears : for by that whiſpering they communicated a prophetic and divine ſpirit.

“ All theſe put together, I take to be good reaſons for the extraordinary veneration paid to this creature from all antiquity. Our oldeſt heathen writer, Sanchoniathon, ſays, the Phœnicians called it *agathodæmon*, the good angel. Epies, the Phœnician, in Eufebius, pronounces

it a most divine animal. Maximus of Tyre, before quoted, writes, that the serpent was the great symbol of the Deity in most nations, even among the Indians.”*

Of this latter assertion I have already, in the preceding volumes of Indian Antiquity, given innumerable proofs; and the reader may consult, as additional proof, the engraving, in the fifth, of Hindoos adoring and feeding serpents. Dr. Stukeley concludes by observing: “No wonder, then, from such reasons as these, and others as obvious, the ancients concluded this to be the most divine of all animals, and thought it the aptest symbol of the *Νοῦς ἑτερος*, the other, or second, mind of Plato, whom they affirmed to be the Creator of the world. I know not whether this notion of theirs did not farther contribute to it; they thought these animals brought forth by the mouth. They have too no limbs, or members for action, but exert their mighty power by the mouth only; whence Horus Apollo says, ‘a serpent is the symbol of the mouth.’”

A very curious remain of this kind of temple, and one, that, when resident at Woodford,

* Stukeley's Abury, p. 56, et seq.

in Effex, I examined myself, is that on Navestock-Common, and not the least ingenious part of the Doctor's account of it is his derivation of the name. " In the last year of my travels," says he, " I found another of these alare temples on Navestock-Common, in Effex, which seems to be of a later date than the other, and when perhaps the original doctrine concerning these theological speculations was somewhat forgotten; because this temple is situate on a dry common, not near water; but the figure is the very same.

" What is exceedingly remarkable, as to this noble antiquity on Navestock-Common, is, that the name should remain to this time, and which confirms all that we said before concerning them, as to their name and meaning: for Navestock must have been so called from some old and remarkable tree, probably an oak, upon or by the CNEPH, or winged temple, Navestock. Our English word *knave*, which had no ill meaning at first, signifies the same thing, *alatus, impiger*; the Latin word *gnavus* the very same: and *knap*, a Teutonic word, the like: all from the Hebrew original.

" I doubt not, but there are more such temples in the Britannic isles, called Knaveſ-Caf-

ties or the like. One I remember to have seen, on a great heathy common, by the Roman Watling-Street, in Staffordshire. And Mr. Toland takes notice of a winged temple of our Druids in the Hebrid or Hyperborean islands, Shetland."

Although the disfigured plan and ruined state of this vast Druidical fane forbid us to speak concerning it with all that preciseness and decision necessary to the establishment of a new hypothesis; yet my conjecture of the stones being placed in number and order consonant to ideas founded in astronomy, borders nearly upon certainty, when we consider the various corroborating circumstances in the preceding account. The remarkable numbers 100, 60, 30, and 12, constantly occurring, unavoidably bring to our recollection the great periods of astronomical theology; the century, the sexagenary cycle of India, the thirty years which formed the Druid age, the twelve signs of the zodiac, and the number of years in which the revolutions of Saturn are performed; of which, multiplied by five, it has been previously observed, the sexagenary cycle was originally fabricated. Thus the great circle consists, we are told, of 100 stones; the whole
temple

temple is furrounded with a circular rampart, 60 feet broad, and with a ditch of exactly the same breadth, and of the two concentric circles, inclosed within the greater, the outermost consists of 30, the inner of 12 stones. Dr. Stukeley computes that the two avenues, the one leading to Kennet, the other to Beckhampton, were each formed of 190 stones; but, as of these so very few remained for him to form a just computation by, we may fairly, upon the ground of analogy, and as having an equal reference to astronomical calculation, state the number of each to have been 180, which, doubled, gives the total amount of the days of the ancient year, before it was reformed by the superior correctness of modern astronomers. That the Orientals actually did regulate their designs in architecture by such fanciful rules of mensuration is evident from what Diodorus Siculus tells us, that the walls of Babylon were built by Semiramis, of the extent of 360 furlongs, to mark the number of days of the ancient year. He adds, she employed in that vast undertaking no less than two millions of men, and one stadium was erected every day, till the whole was completed within the period of

that year, the length of which the measure of their circumference was intended to represent.* Nor did they confine their astronomical allusions to architecture only, for they entered largely into their religious and civil ordinances, since the same author informs us, that, at the tomb of Osiris, during the days of lamentation, the priests, who were appointed to bewail his death, daily poured out libations of milk from 360' vases,† to denote the days of the primitive year, used in the reign of that monarch; and, again, that, at Acanthe, near Memphis, on the Lybian side of the Nile, it was an ancient immemorial custom, on a particular festival, for 360 priests to fetch water from the Nile, in as many vessels, from that river, and then to pour the water into a great receiver perforated at the bottom; by which ceremony they represented both the days of the ancient year and the ceaseless lapse of irrevocable time.‡ Another still more remarkable story of this kind is recorded by Herodotus, who acquaints us, that Cyrus, in his expedi-

* Diod. Sicul. p. 120.

† Ibid. lib. i. p. 26. Rhodomanni.

‡ Ibidem, p. 209.

tion against Babylon, in order to render the river Gyndes fordable for his army, as well as from a curious species of revenge for the loss of one of the consecrated horses of the sun, drowned in the previous attempt to pass that stream, divided it into 360 channels, the number of the degrees through which the sun himself passes in his progress through the zodiac.*

These are all plain vestiges of the solar devotion, as well as proofs of its universal influence which spread from the plains of Babylon, where it originated under Belus, to the rocks and forests of Britain, first tenanted by his posterity the Belidæ, that primæval colony who instituted the Bealtine, and who, according to Mr. Bryant's and my own supposition, were the fabricators of Stonehenge and the designers of Abury. Dr. Stukley, also, we see, estimates the whole number of stones interspersed throughout the stupendous work of Abury to be 650; but, for the reasons alleged above, no great violence will be offered to probability if we state them as 600, which is the precise period asserted by Josephus, from the traditions of his nation, to have been

* Herodoti, lib.i. p. 189.

known to the ante-diluvians, and stated by him to have been their *annus magnus*.* By this cycle of six hundred years, which Bailli terms *lunisolar*, Josephus is supposed to have meant the period wherein the sun and moon return to the same situation in the heavens in which they were at the commencement of that cycle; and it is of this cycle that the great astronomer Cassini, cited in Long, speaks with such rapture, for he observes, that this grand period, of which no intimation is found in the remaining monuments of any other nation, except the ancient Hebrews, is the finest period that ever was invented, since it brings out the solar year more exactly than that of Hipparchus and Ptolemy, and the lunar month within about one second of what it is determined by modern astronomers. If, adds Cassini, the ante-diluvians had such a period of 600 years, they must have known the motions of the sun and moon more accurately than they were known some ages after the flood.†

But to resume the consideration of other interesting and important matters suggested

* Josephi Antiq. Judaic. lib. i. cap. 3.

† Long's Astronomy, vol. ii. p. 653.

by the survey of Abury. When the reader recollects all that has been remarked in the preceding volumes concerning the northern aspects of the GATES of the ancient caverns and temples, it will be no small corroboration of an hypothesis, which would establish these immense structures as the work of an Oriental colony, that the grand entrance to this temple, not less than Stonehenge, is towards the *north-east quarter*; for, as Stukeley has very judiciously remarked, ever since the world began, in building temples, or places of religious worship, men have been studious in settling them according to the quarters of the heavens; since they considered the world as the general temple, or house of God, and that all particular temples should be regulated according to that idea. The east naturally claims a prerogative, where the sun and all the planets and stars arise: the east, therefore, they considered as the face and front of the universal temple. The north was considered as the right hand, and great power of the world; the south as the left hand, or lesser power. For, when the sun approaches the northern region, passing over the vernal equinox, he brings plenty, and the fulness of his benign influences: when he re-

turns

turns to the south, the face of nature languishes in its winter attire; therefore they thought the polar region not only highest, but of most eminence and effect. This observation, he afterwards adds, immediately applies to our purpose, for we cannot but observe, that the whole of Abury temple, if due regard be had to its figure, has its upper part to the *north*, and its face, if we may so speak, towards the *east*. In that direction the serpent bends; that way the cove of the northern temple opens; that way the cove of Beck-hampton avenue; that way the face of Stonehenge temple looks. So that the Druids appear to have the same notions with the other wise men of the Oriental ancients.* It has been observed, that the two wings of Abury are formed of two temples inclosed within the great circular temple; the one of these is situated on the north, and the other on the south, on which our antiquary remarks: it should seem that the northern temple had the pre-eminence, and was the more sacred of the two: for, as the cove was the adytum of that temple, so the whole northern temple may be

* See Stukely's Abury, p 51.

esteemed as the adytum of the whole work, the southern being as the body of it.*

These temples, however, were not only thus placed with reference to ancient theological notions, strictly Oriental; but their stations were fixed with mathematical precision to correspond with the four cardinal points. Dr. Stukeley is of opinion, that, in thus fixing their situation, they used a compass, or magnetic instrument, and he has most ingeniously attempted to ascertain, from the variation of that needle, the exact æra of the construction of either building. He found the variation in all the works about Stonehenge to be between six and seven degrees to the east of the north, and at Abury to be about ten degrees the same way, and that as precisely as possible. This circumstance, he observes, must necessarily excite attention; as, from this regular variation in both places, there is less reason to suppose it *accidental*. The whole work was manifestly intended to be set on the cardinal points of the heavens, but they all vary one way, and exactly the same quantity. Thus Kennet-avenue enters the town of Abury ten degrees north of

* See Stukeley's *Abury*, p. 51.

the north-west point, which north-west point was the Druids' purpose. The neck of the serpent going down from Overton-Hill regards Silbury precisely, and their intent was that it should be full west; but it is ten degrees north of the west. The meridian line of the whole work passes from Silbury-Hill to the centre of the temple at Abury: this varies ten degrees to the east from the north point. The stupendous cove in the northern temple opens ten degrees east of north-east; whereas it was their purpose that it should exactly correspond with north-east. The diameter of the great circle of the great stones at Abury, on which the north and south temples are built, was designed to have been set on the line from north-west to south-east, but it verges ten degrees northward; and so it is of all other particulars.* The result of his observations on this point is, that, arguing upon Halley's hypothesis, that an entire revolution of the circle is performed in about the space of 700 years, and, judging from the different effect of the weather upon the respective structures, the great diversity in the manner of the works,

* Abury, p. 52.

added to many other considerations, we may conclude Abury to have been erected at least 700 years prior in time to Stonehenge. But if we take two entire revolutions of that circle, it will then have been erected 1400 years previous to the other, which will carry us back to the time of Abraham, near two thousand years before Christ, about which time the Doctor thinks the Tyrian Hercules led the first Phœnician colony to Britain. To all this accumulation of conjectural evidence by Stukeley, I shall add, that the magnet is mentioned, by the most ancient classical writers, under the name of Lapis Heraclius, in allusion to its asserted inventor Hercules; and Dr. Hyde enables me to affirm, that the Chaldeans and Arabians have immemorially made use of it, to guide them over the vast deserts that overspread their respective countries.* According to the Chinese records, also, the Emperor Ching-Vang, above a thousand years before Christ, presented the ambassadors of the king of Cochin-China with a species of magnetic index, which, says Martinus, "*certe monstrabat iter, sive terra illud, sive mari facientibus.*"

* See Hyde de Religione Veterum Persarum, p. 189.

The Chinese, he adds, call this instrument CHINAN; a name by which they at this day denominate *the mariner's compass*.* In respect to the Indians, there can be little doubt of their having been as early acquainted with the magnet, as the earliest of those nations whom their gems and rich manufactures allured to their coast, and whose shores they themselves visited in return; and that they were, in the remotest æras, engaged not less than the Phœnicians in projects of distant commerce and navigation, which cannot be extensively carried on without a knowledge of the magnet's powers, I have this strong and curious evidence to produce; for, in the most venerable of their sacred law-tracts, the Institutes of Menu, that is, the first, or Swayambhuva Menu, supposed by the Indians to have been revealed by that primæval legislator many millions of years ago, and to which, in fact, after mature deliberation, Sir William Jones cannot assign a less ancient date than one thousand or fifteen hundred years before the Christian æra, but which is, probably, of a far superior traditional antiquity, there is a curious passage on

* Martinius, Hist. Sin. p. 106.

the legal interest of money, and the limited rate of it in different cases, “with an exception in regard to adventures at sea.”*

Future investigation, and our increasing knowledge relative to the early growth of the sciences in India, will probably demonstrate the fact which is here only supposed. The channel, by which they might have very easily become acquainted with its wonderful properties, must be instantly apparent to every one who reflects on the innumerable benefits, which the discovery of so inestimable a treasure has bestowed upon mankind. In fact, the stupendous acquisition may, in my opinion, be safely assigned to divine Revelation vouchsafed to Noah, that it might be an unerring guide to that holy and favoured patriarch when inclosed in the dark bosom of the ark. Nor is it at all improbable that the Deity, by whose express direction that ark was fabricated, should impart, at the same time, the knowledge of a magnetical index to direct its devious course, amidst the boundless darkness that reigned around, and the united fury of the conflicting elements. The momentous

* See vol. i. p. 429, and vol. ii. p. 371.

secret thus intrusted to the patriarch might be transmitted down to his immediate posterity, and by them inviolably preserved, till the period arrived when the enlarged population and increasing commerce of mankind rendered its divulgement necessary, towards fulfilling the benevolent designs of that Providence who constituted man a social and an inquisitive being.

An inquiry has already in part been instituted into the real country and æra in which Hercules flourished, and I have shewn, that neither the Hercules of Tyre, nor yet of Egypt, were the first whose actions are recorded on the page of history. There was, we have seen, a Chaldean (that is, an Indian) Hercules, or, as we have found him before denominated, an Hercules Belus, prior in time to all who bore the name; and upon that fact, which I hope to establish beyond all doubt, depends a great part of the novel system which I mean to pursue in the course of the Indian History; for every man has his system before him when he commences a great historical undertaking; and, if the system be founded on a proper basis, that is, of facts recorded in profane, compared with and strengthened

strengthened by those of sacred, history, it is to be hoped that such system merits, and will find, support.

For the information alluded to we are indebted to a celebrated and eloquent Pagan writer, whose account, in this instance, wonderfully corroborates the true system of sacred theological history. It is Cicero, who, after enumerating the respective genealogies of all those who bore the name of Hercules in the ancient world, acquaints us, that “ the Indian Hercules is denominated Belus ;” * and I hope, hereafter, in the regular history of ancient India, to make still more and more evident what has already been asserted, that to this renowned Assyrian and Indian conqueror, who, under the name of Bali, engrosses three of the Indian Avatars, is to be ascribed the greatest part of the numerous exploits of that celebrated personage in different quarters of the world ; exploits of which the memory was deeply rooted, and continued for a long time to flourish, in every colony that emigrated from Asia, deeply blended with their history and interwoven with their mythology. He was, as before observed, and the fact ought to be perpetually

* Cicero De Natura Deorum, lib. iii.

borne in mind, constantly compared, for the splendour of his actions and the extent of his power, to the SUN that illuminates and seems to govern the world; and the name of Baal, and Bel, was equally applied to both the monarch and the orb. Of these assertions there cannot, in any nation, be given more striking and direct proofs than have already been brought forward respecting their prevalence in Britain: here, we have seen the sacred fires in honour of BELUS once flamed over the whole island. Mr. Toland, in that part of his history of the Druids which has been so often referred to and in part extracted, but never before inserted at length, gives the following account of these festival fires. “ On May-eve the Druids made prodigious fires on these cairns, which, being every one in sight of some other, could not but afford a glorious show over a whole nation. These fires were in honour of Beal, or Bealan, Latinized by the Roman writers into Belenus, by which name the Gauls and their colonies understood the Sun: and, therefore, to this hour, the first day of May is, by the ab-original Irish, called LA BEALTEINE, or *the day of Belen's fire*. May-day is likewise called

called LA BEALTEINE by the Highlanders of Scotland, who are no contemptible part of the Celtic offspring. So it is in the ISLE OF MAN: and, in Armoric, a priest is still called BELEE, or the servant of BEL, and the priesthood BELEGIETH."*

This Indian Hercules, therefore, this enterprizing god-king Belus, is the true prototype of him who was worshipped at Tyre, and was the great promoter of commerce and navigation; of him who was adored as the vanquisher of Bufiris in Egypt, and whose twelve labours are the symbols of the Sun toiling through the twelve signs of the zodiac; of him, in short, whose complicated history was in after-ages, with all its extravagances, adopted by the fabulous Greeks. One of the most curious and remarkable of the mythologic feats of Hercules was his sailing in a golden cup, which Apollo, or the Sun, had given him, to the coasts of Spain, where he set up the pillars that bear his name. On this passage Macrobius remarks, *Ego autem arbitror non POCULO Herculem maria transvectum, sed navigio cui SCYPHO nomen fuit.*† From

* See Toland's History of the Druids, p. 70.

† Vide Macrobi Saturnalia, lib. v. cap. 21, p. 522, edit. oct. 1670.

this fable of the golden cup, which was probably no more than a gilded vessel, we may both collect in what manner the celebrated feats of Hercules are to be understood, and arrive at an important historical truth concealed under the allegory, that Hercules, or at least a chieftain, or colony, assuming the name of their sovereign, a circumstance not unusual in the earliest periods of time, visited Europe, and transported thither the theological rites and civil customs of the Oriental world: but how they could perform with safety and success so distant and hazardous a voyage, without the aid of the magnetic needle to conduct them, must be left to the consideration of those of my readers who may reject the hypothesis above submitted to them.

It ought not to be concealed, however, that by some mythologists, and especially by the author of some letters, on this subject, to Sir Hildebrand Jacob, this mysterious vase, given by Apollo to Hercules, is contended to have been itself the mariner's compass-box, *by* which, not *in* which, he sailed over the vast ocean. The same author contends, that the image of Jupiter Hammon, whose Libyan temple, according to Herodotus, took its rise
from

from Phœnicia, was nothing more than a magnet, which was carried about by the priests, when the oracle was consulted, in a *golden scyphus*: that the famous golden fleece was nothing else: whence, he says, the ship which carried it is said to have been sensible, and possessed of the gift of speech; and, finally, that the high authority of Homer may be adduced to corroborate the conjecture, that the Phæacians, a people renowned for nautical science, had the knowledge of the magnet; for he observes, either that certain lines in the 8th book of the *Odyssey*, describing the Phæacians vessels as instinct with soul, and gliding, without a pilot, through the pathless ocean to their place of destination, allude to the attractive power of the magnet, or else are utterly unintelligible.* Whatsoever truth there may be in this statement, it is evident, from the extensive intercourse anciently carried on between nations inhabiting opposite parts of the globe, *where the stars, peculiar to their own native region, could no longer afford them the means of safe navigation*, that the important discovery must be of far more ancient date

* See an Inquiry into the Patriarchal and Druidical Religion, by the Rev. Mr. Cooke, p. 27.

than the year of our Lord 1260, to which it is generally assigned, and by the means of Marco Polo, a man famous for his travels into the East.

Concerning the Sexagenary Cycle, of which so much has been said above, I find among my papers a short essay, originally written for a respectable literary journal, which I shall beg the reader's permission to insert in this place, as it will tend greatly to elucidate many parts of this volume. The proof of the asserted fact, of the year anciently beginning in the Indian sign Cartic, or the Bull, here adduced from the first authority of India, is not the least important part of it.

ON THE SEXAGENARY CYCLE OF INDIA AND CHINA.

THE Hindoo astronomy, as it is gradually unfolded to us, opens an astonishing prospect for the contemplation of the European philosopher. It is a system of perpetual cycles, extending upwards from their KREESHNA-PAKSHA, or cycle of the *bright half of the moon*, (that is, in plain English, a fortnight,) to

to millions of revolving years. Every deity of India, at least all their Dii majores, have their allotted periods; and Brahma, Veeshnu, and Seeva, preside over their respective Calpas, Manwantaras, and Yugs.

Of these varied and multiform cycles, none are more important, or few more universally made use of, than the sexagenary cycle.

In this astronomy there is one fact which has often excited the wonder of those who are well acquainted with the haughty and self-sufficient character of the Indian Brahmin, who considers his country as the original seat and source of learning, whence it has flowed, by various channels, to the other states and empires of the world, and who would therefore never condescend to borrow either the principles of his religion, or the elements of his astronomy, from the *mileeches*, or infidels, as he denominates the inhabitants of all foreign kingdoms. It is the very singular circumstance of all the days in the week being named, in the Sanscreet language, after the same planets to which they were anciently assigned by the Greeks and Romans. For the satisfaction of the reader, I shall exhibit those Sanscreet names, as they stand arranged in the

Preface

Preface to Mr. Halhed's Code of Gentoo Laws:— *Audeeta War*, Solis dies; *Soma War*, Lunæ dies; *Mungel War*, Martis dies; *Boodh War*, Mercurii dies; *Breehaspati War*, Jovis dies; *Sookra War*, Veneris dies; *Sanischer War*, Saturni dies.* These planets are thus denominated, and are assigned to the particular days mentioned in the oldest books of Sanscreeet astronomy, especially in the *Surya Siddhanta*. The deities presiding over these planets have each their cycle, and the sexagenary cycle in question is that of *Breehaspati*, or Jupiter.

Every one, who is at all acquainted with astronomy, knows that Jupiter performs his revolution round the sun in the space of twelve years, that is, speaking generally; for, in fact, to adepts in that science, it is known that his revolution is performed in eleven years, three hundred and thirteen days, and eight hours. That the Hindoos should have so accurately ascertained the period of his revolution at the distant æra, when the *Surya Siddhanta*, their oldest astronomical treatise, was written, is a surprising proof of their

* Halhed's Code, p. 41.

early and diligent observation of the heavenly bodies. That they *had* so far ascertained it, is evident from this famous cycle's being nothing more than the amount of five of that planet's revolutions; for 12, multiplied by 5, produces the cycle of 60. The Chinese also adopted, and, in the most remote periods of their empire, calculated the reigns of their emperors by the sexagenary cycle. Martinus, in his *Sinicæ Historiæ*, p. 30, 31, has given us a long account of the sexagenary cycle of China, the invention of which he acquaints us the Chinese annals attribute to Hoang-ti, the successor of Fo-hi; and, if we allow with some writers, Fo-hi to be Noah, and Hoang-ti his son Ham, we shall arrive at once at the utmost point of post-diluvian chronology. Without, however, allowing these romantic claims, so common with all Oriental nations, we may safely admit that it is one of the most ancient cycles formed by the Chinese astronomers, since the whole history of the country is regulated by this important period. As for instance, the same author, speaking of the birth of Con-fut-su, or, as we incorrectly call him, Confucius, states that event to have taken place in the twenty-first year of the
Emperor

Emperor Ling-Vang, who flourished in the thirty-first great sexagenary cycle. P. 137.

The use of this grand cycle, in Oriental astronomy, seems to be, that by it the vast periods of their exaggerated chronology are more easily computed than they can be by single years; which, in many instances, as in that of the Calpa or period of Brahma, and the aggregate of years included in it, defies the power of human calculation. * Sir William Jones, in p. 115 of the first volume of Asiatic Researches, having reduced to arithmetical numeration one of these periods, that of Rudra, found it amount to the enormous sum of two quadrillions five hundred and ninety-two thousand millions of lunar years. There is no end to calculation when a nation adopts such a wild and preposterous hypothesis, and computes the great mass of time by the *bright* and *dark halves* of the moon's orb.

It begins now to be generally known in Europe, that the four great Hindoo periods, called the YUGS, and of which the aggregate amount is 4,320,000, are purely astronomical, being formed on the basis of the precession of the equinoxes, and the fantastical notion of
virtue

virtue decreasing during those four ages of gold, silver, copper, and earth, in the proportion of 4, 3, 2, and 1. To attempt, therefore, to trace back the cycle in question beyond the present, or Cali, age, although the ante-diluvian period of 600 years, mentioned by Josephus, and called, by the old Chaldeans, Neros, is asserted by M. Sonnerat to be only the multiple of this of 60, would be useless. It may gratify curiosity, however, to compare the age of the Cali Yug with the number of years elapsed in it, according to the sexagenary cycle; and, in doing so, it is impossible to avoid remarking how comparatively high the number of years of this Yug, allowed by the Brahmins to have already revolved, approaches to the Mosaic chronology, especially if we admit that of the Samaritan or Septuagint. On the 12th of April, 1791, 4892 years of that æra were expired, and 82 cycles of Jupiter had revolved; that year being the 56th of the 83d Breehaspati period. Each of these cycles, and each of the years of which the cycles are composed, has, as is usual in the Hindoo mythology, a numen or deity presiding over it, the names of which are respectively enumerated in the volume of Asiatic

atic Researches before cited. There is, in that volume, an observation relative to the year, both of the Sun and Jupiter, anciently opening in *Cartic*, which is the *Pleiades* personified, too curious and important to be omitted, since it reminds me of a classical passage which I learned at a time when the planets ingrossed very little of my time and attention, but which taught us that the sun once *opened* the year in the constellation of *the Bull*.

Candidus auratus aperit cum cornibus annum
Taurus.

When Taurus, rising with refulgent horn,
In golden splendour pour'd the vernal morn.

“ It may be remarked, that in the foregoing arrangement of the *Breehaspati* years, *Cartic* is always placed the first in the cycle of twelve ; and, since it is a main principle of the *Hindoo* astronomy to commence the planetary motions, which are the measures of time, from the same point of the ecliptic, it may thence be inferred, that there was a time when the *Hindoo* solar year, as well as the *Breehaspati* cycle of twelve, began with the sun's arrival,
in

in or near the *Nacshatra Critica*, or the Bull, on whose neck the Pleiades are placed in the celestial sphere."

Before I conclude these strictures on Abury, another circumstance of striking affinity between the Scythians and old Britons should by no means be omitted.

In my parallel of the ancient Scythian and Indian superstitions, I have repeatedly mentioned the custom of interring with the venerated kings, most beloved in each country, their favourite ministers, women, horses, arms, and accoutrements. In opening Silbury-Hill, together with the body of the inhumed monarch, the workmen found a bridle, a solid body of rust, which Dr. Stukeley purchased on the spot, and of which he has given an engraving. In other barrows, described in page 45, they found, together with the body, other pieces of armour, spear-heads of iron, knives, swords, gold rings, and fragments of golden ornaments. They likewise dug up several large beads of amber, some of glass enamelled: some were of a white colour, others blue and azure. Now rosaries of beads form a constant appendage to the Brahmin hermits or Yogee penitents, which they count with as
much

much enraptured zeal as any enthusiast of the Roman church, which imported this at the same time as it did the other superstitions of Asia. The introduction of beads into religious ceremonies arose from the attachment of the Asiatics, like the old Pythagoreans, to sacred and mystical numbers.

Concerning this bridle, it should be farther observed, Dr. Stukeley affirms, that it was the bridle of an ancient British chariot, and hence presumes, that the first British settlers, being an Eastern colony, learned to fabricate and make use of that kind of carriage from the Egyptians and other Eastern nations, who, even so early as the time of Joseph, made use of chariots both in war and peace. He adds, that they are mentioned in the wars carried on by Joshua against the Canaanites as being used by the latter, and that the British chariots have ever been famous, since the Romans in the height of their luxury and glory made use of British chariots.

Effeda cælati siste Britanna jugis.

On the contrary, I contend, that, as the Indians have ever made use of war-chariots, with a numerous train of which Porus attacked

tacked Alexander, and as the Scythians were accustomed to transport themselves and families, over the vast plains of Tartary, in rude carriages of similar construction, if a foreign origin must be assigned them, they might full as probably, at least, have derived them from that quarter as from Egypt.

THE ANGUINUM, OR SERPENT-EGG OF THE
DRUIDS.

A SERPENT was always an important symbol in the ancient mysteries; a living one we have seen, in a former volume, was thrown into the bosom of the candidate for initiation in those of Mithras; it was esteemed an emblem of immortality, from the great age it sometimes arrives at, and of regeneration, from the annual shedding of its skin. In the mysterious rites of Druidism it was a symbol not less in request; the anguinum was a charm of wonderful power, and constantly carried, suspended from the neck, on the bosom of the Druid. Pliny has thus described its formation. *Angues innumeri æstate convoluti, salivis faucium*
VOL. VI. O *corporumque*.

*corporumque spumis artificii complexu glomerantur; anguinum appellatur. Druidæ sibilis id dicunt in sublime jactari, sagogue oportere intercepti, ne tellurem attingat: profugere raptorem equo: serpentes enim insequi, donec arceantur amnis alicujus interventu.** An infinite number of snakes entwined together, in the heat of summer, roll themselves into a mass; and, from the saliva issuing from their jaws, and the sweat and froth of their bodies, that egg is engendered which is called anguinum. By the violent hissing of these serpents, the egg is forced aloft into the air, and the person destined to secure it must catch it in the fagus, or holy vestment, before it reaches the ground, or otherwise its virtue is lost. It is necessary that he should be mounted on a swift horse, for the serpents will pursue the ravisher, with envenomed rage, to the brink of the first river, whose waters alone stop their pursuit. He adds, that this ceremony of gaining the anguinum is only to be undertaken at a particular period of the moon; that this egg was thought to render the possessor fortunate in every cause which he

* Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. xxix. cap. 3.

undertook and triumphant over all his adversaries; and, of his own knowledge, he asserts, that a Roman knight, who was agitating a suit at law, and addicted to Druidism, was put to death by Claudius Cæsar for entering the forum with the anguinum in his bosom, under the persuasion that it would influence the judges to give a decision in his favour.

Toland informs us that the ovum anguinum is, in British, called *glain-neidr*, or *serpent of glass*; and, in truth, the whole relation above inserted was no more than a fabricated tale of the Druids to impose on the vulgar.

Their boast, by this charm, to controul the current of destiny, added to their pretended skill in magic, served to bind down, in the indissoluble bonds of superstition, their abject British vassals, not less than the horrible incantations, with consecrated grass, of the Brahmins, tended to overawe and oppress the more timid race of India. Mr. Camden gives the following account of the remains of this superstition in Britain. “ In most parts of Wales, throughout all Scotland, and in Cornwall, we find it a common opinion of the

vulgar, that, about midsummer-eve, (though in the time they do not all agree,) it is usual for snakes to meet in companies; and that, by joining heads together and hissing, a kind of bubble is formed, which the rest, by continual hissing, blow on, till it passes quite through the body, and then it immediately hardens, and resembles a glass ring, which whoever finds [as some old women and children are persuaded] shall prosper in all his undertakings. The rings thus generated are called *Gleineu Nadroeth*; in English, snake-stones. They are small glass amulets, commonly about half as wide as our finger-rings, but much thicker, of a green colour usually, though sometimes blue and waved with red and white.*

To these serpent-stones, formed in imitation of the imagined anguinum, as numerous and wonderful virtues were attributed as to the famous cobra-stone of the Brahmins, an ancient article of commerce at Surat. Mr. Toland, in addition, informs us, that they were worn about the Druid, as a species of magical gem; that they were in fashion either

* Camden's Britannia, p. 815.

perfectly

perfectly spherical, or in the figure of a lentil, and were generally made of chryſtal and agate.*

I cannot conclude this article without obſerving, that Mr. Maſon, in his *Caractacus*, alluding to this rite of Druidiſm, has very poetically and accurately detailed the preceding relation of Pliny.

—— But tell me yet,
 From the grot of charms and ſpells,
 Where our matron ſiſter dwell,
 Brennus, has thy holy hand
 Safely brought *the Druid-wand*,
 And the potent *adder-ſtone*,
 Gender'd 'fore th'autumnal moon;
 When, in undulating twine,
 The foaming ſnakes prolific join;
 When they hiſs, and when they bear
 Their wond'rous egg aloof in air:
 Thence, before to earth it fall,
 The Druid, in his hallow'd pall,
 Receives the prize,
 And inſtant flies,
 Follow'd by th'envenom'd brood,
 'Till he croſs the chryſtal flood.

* See Toland's *Hiſtory of the Druids*, vol. i. p. 60.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE INDIANS AND OLD
BRITONS.

THERE were many other evident relics dispersed over all the Gentile world of the religion and sacred rites of the Brahmins; nor is the Christian world, at this day, entirely free from them, especially that portion of it in which the Roman Catholic religion flourishes. At the entrance of all the Eastern temples were placed vessels filled with consecrated water, with which the votaries at their entrance besprinkled themselves; and this custom, there can scarcely be a doubt, originated in India, where large tanks for the ablution of a people, whose laws of unfathomable antiquity are not less immutable than those of the Medes and Persians, to this day remain invariably placed in the front of their pagodas, without previous ablution in which the Hindoo dares not approach the altar of his God. The antiquity, therefore, and universality of this practice, as well as that of using consecrated *beads* in their worship of the Deity,

Deity, common to the Brahmins not less than the Druids, apparently demonstrate from what primæval source the votaries of modern superstition, in Rome, have borrowed this Asiatic rite. One incentive of these innumerable prescribed ablutions was, doubtless, to obtain invigorated health in a relaxing clime; but the first origin is to be found in the precepts of religion; for, as they beheld that frequent submersion in water washed away the stains and leprous diseases of the body, so from analogy they conceived that purifying element might gradually absterge the impurities of the polluted soul. I ventured, in a former chapter of this work, when relating the countless ablutions of the Brahmins, to hazard an assertion, and hereafter I shall endeavour fully to prove it, that there was another incentive to ablution to be found in traditions handed down in the family of Noah relative to the purgation and purification which the earth underwent from the waters of the deluge. Spencer, in the following passage, speaking of the Jewish purifications by water, is decidedly of this opinion: *Hanc ablutionem arbitror fuisse inter instituta vetera orta post*

MAGNUM DILUVIUM IN MEMORIA AQUA PURGATI MUNDI.*

We have seen what innumerable vases and basons for the purifying water there were ex-fodiated in the ancient caverns of Salfette and Elephanta; and both the period of their fabrication and the customs of the Indians, *immemorially established*, must prevent any idea being entertained that they were borrowed from any other people. Now that the Druids invariably used similar rites is evident from the infinite number of hollow vases, or rock-basons, as Dr. Borlase, in his chapter on the subject calls them, continually found sculptured upon or adjoining to all the Carns, or mercurial heaps, of the old Druids. Some of these rock-basons which he describes are of considerable depth and breadth; are placed in regular and successive order one below the other on the loftiest eminences of their craggy temples, far beyond the reach of defilement, to catch, as it fell, the hallowed dew for lustration, and to receive the pure white flakes of virgin snow, which, refined by the chemical hand of nature, de-

* Vide Spencer de Leg. Heb. p. 1099.

scended from that heaven to which their prayers were addressed, unpolluted by those earthy particles for ever blended with the water immediately derived from ponds and rivers. "I have observed," says Dr. Borlase, "so many of those rock-basins in the Carns of Cornwall, that I may venture to say there is hardly any considerable group of rocks in these western parts which has not more or less of them. There are two sorts of them; some have lips or channels to them, others have none. The shape of them is not uniform: some are quite irregular; some are oval; and some are exactly circular. They are frequently found on the tops of Logan, or rocking-stones, and should therefore seem to have some affinity to, and be subservient to, the same species of superstition." *

* Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 242.

THE TRANSMIGRATION OF THE DRUIDS THE
LEADING FEATURE IN THE BRAHMIN RE-
LIGION: AND, ACCORDING TO BOTH, THE
WORLD WAS TO BE DESTROYED BY A
GENERAL CONFLAGRATION.

IN that ancient book, the Institutes of Menu, compiled, at least, many centuries before Pythagoras was born, there is a long chapter consisting of one hundred and twenty-six flocas or stanzas, on TRANSMIGRATION AND FINAL BEATITUDE, and that chapter was perhaps the first public promulgation of this dogma in Asia. The doctrine delivered in it is exceedingly curious, and by no means limits the journey of the metempsychosis to human and bestial forms: it imprisons the wandering soul in vegetables, and plunges it into the depths of the mineral world. All beings emanate from the great spirit: "From the substance of that Supreme Spirit are diffused, like sparks from fire, innumerable vital spirits, which perpetually give motion to creatures exalted and base." Stanza 15. These, as they first proceeded from the great Brahme,
after

after traversing the universe, return to and are finally absorbed in him, as their centre. The Deity is there represented as punishing only to purify his creatures; not to gratify his vengeance, but for the purposes of example and reform. Nature itself exhibits only one vast field of purgatory for the classes of existence: eternal torments for temporal offences are utterly disclaimed. The meaning and result of the whole seem to be summed up in the 73d and 81st stanzas. “As far as vital souls, addicted to sensuality, indulge themselves in forbidden pleasures, even to the same degree shall the acuteness of their senses be raised in their future bodies, that they may endure analagous pains.” “With whatever disposition of mind a man shall perform, in this life, any act religious or moral, in a future body, endued with the same quality, shall he receive his retribution.” On the subject of FINAL BEATITUDE there occur, towards the close, some most sublime stanzas on the omnipotence and omnipresence of the divine Spirit, worthy of the true religion itself, which I shall notice hereafter, when more particularly examining that venerable fragment, concluding my remarks at present with selecting the

the following one more immediately connected with our subject. “ Equally perceiving the supreme soul in all beings, and all beings in the supreme soul, the transmigrator sacrifices his own spirit by fixing it on the spirit of God, and thus approaches the nature of that sole divinity, who shines by his own effulgence.” Stanza 91.

The foundation of this fanciful doctrine seems to have been a firm persuasion that the soul of man is formed of a substance not perishable like the body, but flourishing with unimpaired vigour through all the vicissitudes of existence. The support and general propagation of it among the philosophers of Asia was an anxious desire to account for the innumerable evils incident to life, and to vindicate Providence in its government of the world. The first opinion they undoubtedly had from the Noachidæ, of whom Menu, if not Noah himself disguised by mythology, ranked in the very first class. The second originated in the speculations of fanciful metaphysicians, who, fond of diving into mysteries beyond the grasp of man’s limited comprehension, erected upon the sublime and solid basis of the soul’s immortality an airy superstructure,

superſtructure, by no means naturally connected with it, or affording any juſt grounds for the ſupport of it. It has been aſſerted, that Pythagoras did not propagate the notion of the deſcent of the tranſmigrating ſoul into any frame below the human. But the antiquity and high authority of this recently-diſcovered volume ſhould, I conceive, have ſufficient weight with antiquaries to induce them to conclude, that Pythagoras, who doubtleſs derived this, with many other ſingular doctrines, from the Indian Brachmans, did not confine the wandering of the ſoul to the human frame alone; but inculcated its occaſional deſcent into brutal forms. It alſo greatly ſtrengthens the aſſertion of Cæſar, the truth of which has been warmly conteſted, that the Druids, who probably had this doctrine from the ſame primæval ſource, notwithstanding ſome inconſiſtences to which ſuch an opinion gives birth, not only believed in the tranſmigration, but adopted the doctrine in all the latitude in which the original inventors admitted it.

The final deſtruction of the exiſting world by fire was, alſo, not leſs a tenet of the Brahmans than we have proved it was of the Indians;

dians; for, says Cæsar, *conditum mundum credebant, et aliquando igni periturum*. Among both sects, probably, the doctrine was originally drawn from the same source, traditions derived from Revelation, relative to the apokatastasis of nature, prevalent in the family of the Noachidæ. In truth, this is the only rational mode of accounting for a dogma so universally received in the Oriental and Grecian schools; for the disciples of Zoroaster and Plato alike believed in the general conflagration; and the doctrine is confirmed by the solemn and decided voice of Scripture. The Chaldeans, or ancient Magi, taught that it would happen when all the planets met in conjunction in the sign Cancer, in the same manner as the great deluge had taken place, when, according to their astronomical books, the planets were in conjunction in that of Capricorn.* The Stoics, who, also, believed in the destruction of the globe by the alternate violence of water and fire, conceived, that the grand catastrophe by fire would take place at the end of the annus magnus, or 36,000 common years; in which space a com-

* Berosus in Senecæ Nat. Quæst. lib. iii. cap. 29.

plete revolution of the zodiac, by the precession of the equinoctial points, after the supposed rate of a degree in one hundred years, would be effected. The conceptions on this head both of the Oriental and Greek philosophers, according to Horus Apollo, were elegantly symbolized by the history of the phoenix, a bird fabled to be a native of the East and the only one of its species capable of existing at one period. At the expiration of the GREAT YEAR this bird is feigned regularly to appear, a prelude of its approaching dissolution, and, having formed itself a nest of the most fragrant spices, to deposit it on the altar of the sun at Heliopolis, where, being immediately set on fire by the rays of that sun, she, for some time, hovers over it, then plunges into the flaming bed, and is consumed together with it. From its ashes another phoenix springs, young, vigorous, and beautiful, the expressive emblem of regenerated nature and a new-formed world. It was in allusion to this tradition of a general conflagration, in the opinion of Porphyry who relates the fact, that the Egyptians, annually, at the summer solstice, marked their houses, flocks, and trees, with red; and he imputes to the same cause the institution of the celebrated pyrric,

or

or fire-dance, of the ancients.* The sacred fires which the Druids kindled at the solstitial period were probably the remains of ceremonies intended to perpetuate this tradition; and the knowledge of its powerful effect, and final destination to consume the ignited globe, might be one source of the veneration paid to this element by the ancient Sabian idolaters.

THE DRUIDS, LIKE THE BRAHMINS, CONSTITUTED THE FIRST ORDER OF NOBILITY, WERE THE HEREDITARY COUNSELLORS OF THE KING, AND THE SOLE EDUCATORS OF YOUTH.

BY the same usurped power which the Brahmins of India assume over the inferior castes of India, did the Druids bow down beneath their arbitrary yoke not only the sovereigns, but the people, of Britain. As they professed to derive their power immediately from the Deity, with whom they equally affected an intimate communion; to the Deity alone, and the superior of their order, they acknowledged their obedience was due. The remains of palaces, magnificent, but rude,

* Porphyry, lib. i. p. 94.

which

which Rowland and other investigators of Druid remains have discovered in Anglesea, Cornwall, and their other principal stations, in these islands, evince, that, in the depth of their woody recesses, they did not wholly reside in damp and dreary caverns ; but enjoyed all the conveniences, and occasionally appeared in all the splendor, known in those barbarous ages. Dion Chrysostom informs us, that they administered justice sitting on thrones of gold, were splendidly lodged and sumptuously entertained by the monarchs whose armies, in war, they animated to the field, and of whose counsels, in peace, they were the hereditary directors.* Those caverns were their sure retreats in time of danger, and the sacred adyta in which the most mysterious rites of their religion were performed. There, in solitude and shade, they instructed the noble youth whose education was solely intrusted to their care, a circumstance which gave them an unlimited sway over the inclinations of their pupils, and bound them from their infancy in the chains of prejudice ; there they unfolded the arcana of their philosophy ; there they

* Dion Chrysostom, p. 538, edit. Paris.

practised those dreadful rites of magic to which their Brahmin ancestors were so grossly addicted in the Median mountains and the subterraneous temples of India; boasting that they could draw down into their caverns the genii of the orbs, and controul the operations of astonished nature. In these incantations a variety of consecrated grasses was used by the Brahmins of India, particularly those called CUSA and DARBBHA, and the profound veneration of the Druids for the VERVAINE, to be cautiously gathered at the rise of the dog-star; of the sacred wonder-working MISLETOE, to be cut off the parent-oak, by a white-robed Druid, with a golden hook, when the moon was only six days old; of the SELAGO, or hyssop, and the SAMOLUS, or marsh-wort, gathered only by the holy hands of the priesthood, with many superstitious ceremonies, as well as their use of them in their mystical ritual, are too well known to be insisted on here, and are only mentioned to mark the consonance of the opinions and practice of the two nations in this respect.

As the Brahmins never revealed to foreigners the awful secrets of their religion, so the Druids inviolably concealed from all but their

their own sect the profound mysteries of their devotion. One of the most solemn vows in initiation was probably the preservation of these mysteries in inviolable secrecy. That they must in the countries where they originally resided have had tablets, if not books, in which as well their religious tenets as their astronomical calculations were recorded, is evident; but various causes may be easily conceived as operating either to their being left behind, or their destruction in the course of a tedious and perilous migration; and, living among strangers, the renovation of them was not necessary. They thought traditional and oral knowledge sufficient, and it certainly favoured the opinion of their doctrines being divinely inspired.

As the young Brahmins passed a very long pupillage in the houses of their preceptors, so did the scholars of the Druids: not less than twenty years were esteemed an adequate period for the full initiation into their abstruse and complicated lore; and it is remarkable, that, as the most ancient Sanscreeet treatises in literature are written in stanzas, denominated *shlokas*, so all the religion and philosophical doctrines of the Druids were wrapt up in mystical verses, which the student committed to memory, and

their poetical compositions of this kind are computed to have amounted to 20,000 in number. Singular as this custom of propagating the principles of knowledge may appear, it has the sanction of names so eminent in science as Pythagoras and Socrates, who taught their scholars after this manner, and left no written documents behind them. This practice indeed of inculcating science *memoriter*, and by verses, seems very generally to have prevailed in the remotest ages; for the most ancient and celebrated Law-Treatise of India is entitled *Memumfriti*, or Institutes *remembered* from Menu, the first great legislator of the country, which were afterwards collected into a book, and will be largely commented on in the second part of this volume. The preface to this work asserts it to have been originally composed in a *hundred thousand slokas*, which the sage Sumati, son of Bhrigu, for greater ease to the human race, reduced to *four thousand*. The Vedas, also, it should be remembered, are a metrical composition, and, when properly read, according to Mr. Halhed, are chanted after the same manner that the Jews, in their synagogues, from immemorial custom, chant the Pentateuch.*

* Preface to the Gentoo Code, p. 26.

What

What sciences, in particular, flourished among the Druids besides astronomy, which they seem to have carried to wonderful perfection for those periods; moral philosophy, whose sublime and awful precepts they incessantly inculcated on their disciples; music, whose solemn melody, breathed from innumerable harps, during the public worship, roused to transports of enthusiasm the votaries of that animated superstition; mechanics, which enabled them to elevate to such surprizing heights the immense masses of stone discoursed of above; and botany, to which a race constantly residing in woods, and accustomed to use plants and herbs of a supposed mysterious efficacy in the rites of divination, could be no strangers:—what sciences, I say, besides these, they might have cultivated, the impenetrable darkness, in which they delighted to bury themselves and their pursuits, must ever prevent our knowing. An acquaintance with geography is indeed allowed them by Cæsar; but, to a race so entirely secluded from the rest of the habitable globe, little more of that science could be known than what they might learn from the Phœnician and Grecian navigators, who successively visited the coast of

Britain. Ignorant of its external surface, however, the deep and productive mines, with which the island abounded, afforded that inquisitive race a noble opportunity of contemplating its internal wonders, and advancing far in the knowledge of minerals, metals, gems, and other productions of the subterraneous world. Of geometrical knowledge, also, no inconsiderable portion may fairly be assigned them, as being so intimately connected with astronomy, and the mechanical arts in which they had evidently made so great a proficiency. Dr. Borlase, indeed, from his own personal investigation, greatly confirms this latter position; for, on one of the rocks of the famous Karnbre-Hill, in Cornwall, he discovered a very regular elliptical basin, ten inches by fourteen, which, he observes, could hardly be so exactly delineated, without stationing the two focuses of the ellipse mathematically; a strong evidence that not only the said basin was made by the Druids, but that they understood the principles of geometry.*

* Borlase's *Antiquities of Cornwall*, p. 119.

THE STAFF OF BRAHMINS, THE ORIENTAL TIARA, AND WHITE VESTMENTS OF THE PRIESTS OF MITHRA, WERE ALL IMMEMORIALY USED BY THE DRUIDS OF BRITAIN.

THE Druids invariably carried a sacred wand, or staff, in their hands, which is one of the discriminating symbols by which the Brahmin order is known; and, being constantly used by them in their rites of magic, probably came from them, to be employed in similar ceremonies throughout all the East. The rod, or caduceus, of Hermes, the western Mercury, intertwined with serpents, that sacred Asiatic symbol for ever occurring in the Mithriac mysteries, and the sacred thyrsi used by the frantic bacchanals in the mysteries of Isis, have, I conceive, a very near relation to the Brahmin staff and the Druid wand. The Persian youths, who, on the pompous procession described by Curtius, attended the horses of the sun, were arrayed in *white garments*, and bore in their hands *golden reas, or wands*, point-

ed at the end in imitation of the solar ray.* This explanation immediately points out its allusion in the ancient mysteries which were all relics of the original solar superstition. It symbolized the solar beam that explores Nature's most secret depths, and penetrates into the abyss of matter. Diviners, therefore, in their lofty pretensions to be acquainted with her arcana, and, as if conversant with her mysterious operations, in their nocturnal orgies, waved on high the solar wand, in circles imitative of the revolution of his orb.

I would by no means be understood as applying this observation to the *rod of Moses*, by which Aaron wrought before the hardened Pharaoh the prodigies of Egypt. It unfortunately happens, that, in this as in many other delicate instances which have before occurred, the Mosaic and the Pagan customs, generally established in Asia, very nearly correspond, and it might be thought that I, therefore, ought to consider the latter as corruptions of the former; but the hypothesis which I have adopted, added to the allowed high antiquity of the Indian nation, does not always admit

* See Quinti Curtii, lib. iii. cap. 3.

of my doing this. It should be remembered, also, that the Deity, out of his indulgence to the weakness of human nature, permitted the Hebrew nation to retain in their ritual a few of the sacred symbols of their Asiatic neighbours; as, for instance, that of *fire*, sanctifying the symbol by its adoption into a nobler and purer system of devotion. In truth, the rod of Moses was originally the pastoral wand with which he guided his flock; from those flocks he was taken to be the pastor of Israel; with that simple instrument he was enabled, by Jehovah, to awe the sovereign of Egypt, and to confound the magicians opposed to him. Those magicians, indeed, had their rods, such as we have described peculiar to their iniquitous profession; but that of Moses, by annihilating the others, proved at once the superiority of its origin, and the irresistible might of him under whose auspices it was employed. Aaron, also, had his peculiar rod, that blossomed, was solemnly deposited in the ark, and, on all solemn occasions, ornamented the hand of the high priest of the Jewish nation. The heads of all the tribes had also their respective rods; but these are to be considered rather as badges of distinction than as sacred

sacred symbols; for *virga* is frequently in Scripture used in the sense of sceptre.

The Druids, also, wore on their heads a tiara of linen, very much resembling, in form, that of the Brahmins, and which, in the preceding volume, it has been observed, consisted of a piece of muslin, many yards in length; and, as every thing in their worship had an allusion to the sun and planets, rolled round in form of a turban, to imitate the convolutions of the orbs. The Egyptian priests performing the sacrifice to the sun, represented in one of the plates of the second volume of this work, wear on their heads this tiara, which rises in the form of a *cone*; in Asiatic mythology, a constant emblem of the sun. The high priest of the Jewish nation wore a tiara of this kind, which was called *cidaris*; but, to prevent any mistaken allusion to the solar worship, a golden plate was placed on the front of it, on which was conspicuously engraven the awful name of Jehovah. These parts of the ancient dress and ornaments of the Asiatic priests are visible in the *crozier* and *mitre* of the episcopal order of Europe, now sanctified by their use in the service of that God who made the sun and all the host of heaven.

White

White being universally esteemed in Asia to be the emblem of purity, that purity which a thousand ablutions and ceremonial purgations were intended to inculcate, as well for the sake of religion as of health, in regions bordering on the torrid zone, in vestments of that colour, the priests of India, Persia, and Egypt, constantly officiated at the altar of Deity. The sagus, or holy vesture, of the sacrificing Druid was also invariably white; their oracular horses, and the steers devoted to the sacrificial knife, were obliged to be of the same colour. The greater part of the habiliments of the Jewish high-priest consisted of the finest white linen; the dress of the highest class of the sacerdotal order of this day is white; nor can any vesture be imagined more proper for man when he approaches the spotless shrine of a Deity, whose eyes are too pure to behold iniquity. Before we quit this subject, it is worthy of observation, that, although we know the sacred tunic of the Druids, when engaged in religious rites, was white; yet it is not in our power exactly to ascertain the composition of that tunic; it was most probably of linen, but that article they could only have from the East, where it was cultivated, and formed a branch
of

of lucrative commerce in the earliest ages. The manufacture of linen was not introduced into Britain till the time of the Romans, and that valuable commodity, therefore, must have been brought hither by the Phœnician traders in exchange for the tin of the Cassiterides. Of that commerce I shall speak extensively in the succeeding section.

FINALLY, THE CIRCLE AND THE CRESCENT, THE FORMER THE PECULIAR CHARACTERISTIC SYMBOL OF BRAHMA, THE LATTER THAT OF SEEVA, WERE CONSPICUOUS ORNAMENTS OF THE SACERDOTAL ORDER OF ANCIENT BRITAIN.

ONE of the four hands of the Indian deity Brahma, in all pictures and sculptures, is invariably decorated with a circle, which has already been declared to be the mystic emblem of revolving cycles, and often of the grand round of eternity itself.* The circular form in which the Druids delighted to erect not only

* See Sonnerat's Voyages, p. 11, Calcutta, O&Avo edition.

their

their sacred but other edifices, their circular mode of adoration, the tremendous circle used in magical incantation, and so essentially necessary to the designs of the forcerer, that, without that circle duly described, no success attended his most elaborate efforts to conjure up from Erebus the subject dæmon; — all these, added to various other facts before-enumerated, demonstrate their frequent use of and supreme veneration for this Indian symbol.

On the ancient gold coins found in the year 1749, in the middle of the ridge of Karnbre-Hill, in Cornwall, thus denominated from the multitude of karns still visible upon it, coins, which, I conceive, are satisfactorily proved by Dr. Borlase to bear the stamp of the rude British mint in times coæval with the Druid power in these islands, among other symbols immediately referring to the Sabian worship of that sect, the circle, or wheel, constantly occurs, together with round balls, strung in rows, like beads or pearls, and rings pierced like the discus, which exhibits the exact resemblance of the chakra of Brahma. The more prominent object on all is the horse, which Dr. Borlase, impressed with the idea of the fighting-chariots of the old Britons, takes to
be

be the horse attached to the Effeda, designated by the wheel. But as these coins were found on so secluded and consecrated a spot, and have every mark of remote antiquity, I am of opinion, that the horse of the sun was intended by it, that sun of whose orb the wheel and the circle were the unvarying symbols ; and I am the rather inclined to indulge this opinion, on account of the occurrence of another symbol upon these coins, certainly much more connected with the rites of Druidism than the din of battle. It is the LUNAR CRESCENT, on the consideration of which, as a symbol of that order, I must now enter.

The crescent constantly adorns the image of Seeva, when accurately designed by the Indian artist. It is engraved on his forehead, and is probably intended to be allusive to his mythological union in character with Chandra, the moon personified. Now Seeva's more general appellation in India is Eswara, and the remarkable similitude as well between the names as characters of Osiris and Isis, of Egypt, and the Eswara and Isa, of India, has been repeatedly pointed out. Isis generally bears on her head the lunar crescent, and the Greeks, imitating the Egyptians, placed that
crescent

crescent on the head of Diana, particularly her whom they denominated Diana Lucifera. Various statues of the latter deities may be seen thus ornamented in Mountfaucon's Antiquities. Eswara, however, it should be observed in the complicated Indian mythology, is not *married* to Isa, in her lunar capacity, as Osiris is to Isis, in the Egyptian; for Chandra shines to the Indians a male divinity; Seeva, or Eswara, means properly the *solar fire*, that fire which destroys and regenerates, that fire a vase of which he constantly bears in one of his hands; and the lunar light being but the reflection of the sun's, in that manner the character of the latter is, as it were, necessarily absorbed in the mythological character of the former. On this account Seeva is decorated with the crescent; and hence, in the Bhagvat Geeta, he is called "the God with the crescent at Benares."*

The Druids, on their great festivals, wore on their garments, or carried in their hands, a crescent of gold, silver, or other metal. This ornament has long glittered on the banners of the East, the auspicious emblem of rising

* Bhagvat Geeta, p. 81.

power and expanding glory ; but, in that signification, the crescent could scarcely be applicable to the sequestered Druids. The use of it, therefore, can only be considered as a custom, originating in a system of astronomical superstition, like that to which the Brahmins and the Druids were devoted, who attended with equal anxiety to the vicissitudes of that orb ; and by her motions regulated their most sacred festivals. It was when the moon was *six days old*, according to Pliny,* that the latter marched in solemn procession to gather the hallowed mistletoe ; and it was from that precise period, every thirtieth year, that they began to count anew the months and years which formed their celebrated cycle of that duration. In the second volume of Mountfaucon's Antiquities, opposite page 276, there is a sculpture that remarkably illustrates this relation of Pliny. It is on a bass-relief, found at Autun, and represents the Archimagus, bearing the sceptre, as head of his order, and crowned with a garland of oaken leaves, with another Druid, not thus decorated, approaching him, and displaying in his right hand a crescent of

* Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. xxv. cap. 44.

the size of the moon, when six days old. By the aspect and posture of the latter, he seems to be some Druid astronomer, in the act of informing his chief that the day of that high festivity was arrived, on which either the mistletoe was to be cut, or the new period to commence its revolution. On the Karnbre coins it repeatedly occurs, and sometimes two or three crescents are seen on the same coin.

I cannot conclude this final head of the extensive parallel which has now been drawn between the Druid and Indian superstitions, without observing that there is another kind of circle repeatedly occurring among the stone monuments of the Druids, that of the *ellipses*, which can scarcely fail of impressing the mind, that seriously reflects on all the proofs of their wisdom previously enumerated, that they were so far advanced in astronomy as to have known the elliptical courses described, in their revolution, by the heavenly bodies, a circumstance not suspected in modern Europe till the time of the ingenious Kepler, who was as great a geometrician as an astronomer. The hypothesis of Kepler, however, was by no means at first generally believed by astronomers, till Cas-

impiety embrace a system of chronology less perplexing to that hypothesis, so many learned men have adopted the Samaritan chronology, which computes that event to have taken place about the 400th year after the flood. By this rational mode of computation, a variety of difficulties, otherwise scarcely surmountable, are got over. The remembrance of the grand dissolution might by that time have grown more faint in their minds, and their horrors so far abated, that they may, with less outrage to probability, be supposed capable of erecting a tower to brave the power of the Deity, who, in his wrath, had deluged the former guilty world; and the earth itself, by the powerful action of the sun and winds during this extended interval, better prepared in every region to receive the swarming multitudes that were now descending from the overcharged plains of Shinar and all the mountainous regions of Asia to the abodes destined for them by Providence. In adopting this, which appears to me the more plausible system, I would by no means be understood to intimate that no partial migration towards the countries nearer the eastern limits of the world, previously to the grand dispersion, might have taken place: on the

the contrary, I am very much inclined to believe that Noah himself, who lived 350 years after the flood, attended by the more virtuous of his descendants, disgusted with the increasing idolatries of Shinar, did actually retire from that polluted plain, and lay the foundation of the great empires of India and China, as contended for by Raleigh and Shuckford; though their hypothesis of the ark, resting on the Indian Caucasus, cannot, consistently with the sacred writings, be maintained. One of my principal inducements for this belief is, that the pious patriarch is by this means removed from all participation in the counsels of that nefarious race, who, after the signal deliverance of their great ancestor from a watery grave, dared, by that erection of Babel, so atrociously to insult the power and providence of the Most High. But this subject, and others connected with it, will be hereafter discussed more at large in their proper place, the Indian History; and are here only noticed as preparatory to future strictures in this volume on the Institutes of Menu, which, in the main, may be considered as the work of that primæval legislator.

The sum, therefore, of the preceding remarks is, that the great outlines of the Brahmin creed of faith, consisting of an heterogeneous mixture of the principles of the true and false religion, were formed in the school of Chaldæa before they left Shinar: that after the dispersion, pursuing the decrees of Providence in the peopling of the world, they migrated from Persia, and the country in its neighbourhood, to regions still nearer the rising sun; bearing with them, across the Indus, the new-formed code of religious and political laws, afterwards enlarged, purified, and accommodated to their situation in a different region; a region in which innumerable ablutions and other local superstitions were indispensable: that they were still divided into many sects bearing the name of Brahma, Veeishnu, Seeva, and Buddha; and that Thibet, the highest and most northern region of India, was peopled with Brahmins of the sect of the last-mentioned holy personage, who appears from indubitable evidence to be the Mercury of the west: that these priests spread themselves widely through the northern regions of Asia, even to Siberia itself; and, gradually mingling with the great body of the Celtic tribes who pursued

fued their journey to the extremity of Europe, finally established the Druid, that is, Brahmin, system of superstition in ancient Britain.

This, I contend, was the first Oriental colony settled in these islands. In the course of ages, their extensive commerce led hither Phœnician colonies in quest of that tin which they exchanged for the fine linen and rich gems of India. The Phœnicians, whose ancestors were educated in the same original school with the Brahmins, suffered not the ardour of Asiatic superstition to subside, but engrafted upon it the worship of the Tyrian Hercules, and other rites of that ancient nation. How astonishingly great that commerce was, and of what nature those rites were, are points which will be amply discussed in the Dissertation that follows.

END OF THE DISSERTATION ON THE ORIGIN
OF THE DRUIDS.

A
DISSERTATION
ON THE
COMMERCE CARRIED ON IN VERY REMOTE AGES
BY THE
PHŒNICIANS, CARTHAGINIANS, AND GREEKS,
WITH THE
BRITISH ISLANDS,
FOR THEIR
ANCIENT STAPLE OF TIN;
AND ON THEIR
EXTENSIVE BARTER OF THAT COMMODITY FOR THOSE
OF THE INDIAN CONTINENT:
THE WHOLE CONFIRMED BY
EXTRACTS FROM THE INSTITUTES OF MENU,
AND INTERSPERSED WITH
STRICTURES ON THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS
OF
NAVIGATION
AND
SHIP-BUILDING IN THE EAST.

INDIAN ANTIQUITIES :

V O L. VI.

P A R T II.

A
DISSERTATION, &c.

GENERAL ARGUMENT.

The Hercules of Tyre probably the same Personage as the Chaldean and Indian Belus.— Hercules, under the Name of Melicartus, asserted by the Ancients to have first explored the Cassiterides for Tin.— And the Name BELERIUM, in Consequence, given by the ancient Geographers to the western Extremity of Cornwall. — A retrospective Survey taken of the Sciences and Commerce for which Phœnicia was most celebrated.— Some Account of their Trade to Spain, and the immense Riches anciently obtained from the Mines of that Country. — The Bullion of Spain transported in Phœnician Vessels by Way of the Mediterranean and Red Seas to India.— Their Communication from Gadira, the modern Cadiz,

Cadiz, with the British Islands. — An Account of the Tin-Mines of Cornwall, of the different Kinds of Ore found there by the Miners, and their Method of smelting and refining it; with a History of the Tin-Trade, during those most ancient Periods. — Its Importance to the Country at large insisted on, and the Policy and Wisdom of the Court of Directors in reviving this interesting Branch of British Commerce with India, stated as the just Subject of national Applause. — The successive Voyages undertaken by the Carthaginians and Greeks to Britain, on the same Errand, detailed. — The principal Articles that formed the ancient Commerce of Egypt and Persia enumerated. — The Origin and gradual Progress of the Science of Navigation and Ship-Building in Asia.

I SHALL commence this Dissertation and the observations which I have to offer relative to the ancient commerce carried on between the natives of this island and those of Asia, but more particularly the
Phœnicians,

Phœnicians, by informing the reader, that the oldest classical appellation which we have for the extreme western point of Cornwall, called by us the *Land's End*, is BELE-RIUM, misspelt indeed Bolerium in Ptolemy's Geography,* but restored to its right orthography by Diodorus Siculus,† who writes the word Belerium. Ancient British writers of the first eminence translate this word, "the Promontory of Hercules," and both the original term and the translation bring back to our recollection that first Assyrian and Indian Belus, who, a celebrated Pagan writer, even the wise Cicero himself, affirms, was the true Hercules. Now that Hercules was the founder of Tyre; and the Tyrians themselves, in the time of Herodotus,‡ boasted that their city was then two thousand three hundred years old, which account, though exaggerated by a few centuries, is much nearer the truth than the vaunted origin assigned to most of the great cities of Asia, and is in a great degree consonant with the hypothesis here contended for.

* See Ptolemæi Geograph. lib. iii. cap. 3.

† Diod. Sic. lib. v. cap. 22.

‡ Ibid. lib. ii. cap. 43.

That hypothesis is still more strongly confirmed by a retrospective glance on the mode of superstition predominant in Tyre; for the two principal deities, anciently worshipped in Phœnicia, were the SUN and MOON, the one under the name of Baal, or Belus, whose symbol was fire, so congenial with the Bealtine, or fires of Belus, in these islands, discoursed of above, and Astarte, the Ashtaroth of Scripture, who was represented, in the great temple of Hercules at that city, under the form of a female with the horns of a bull placed upon her head, and between them a precious gem, of great magnitude and splendor, which by night illumined the whole temple. Lucian, who relates this fact, calls that gem *λυχμς*, by some thought to mean the carbuncle, a precious stone fabled to shine brightest in darkness, and therefore the proper ornament of an idol intended to represent the silver empress of the night.

Another corroborative circumstance is, that the Phœnician mythological history, according to Selden, enumerates no less than three different Baals; first, Baalsamen, which signifies the *Lord of Heaven*, and means, in an appropriate sense, the Sun; secondly, Cronus,

or

or Baal; and, thirdly, Zeus Baal, or Jupiter Belus. These are probably the respective nominal heads of the solar and other dynasties of that name, established in the earliest ages on the imperial thrones of Asia, and, doubtless, all have immediate reference to and connection with the oldest or Assyrian Belus, canonized in the Sun, the great conqueror of the land and navigator of the ocean. The colonies that sailed to distant shores assumed the renowned name of the founder, and imparted it with the Phœnician worship to the regions and people which they visited.

Another name of the Tyrian Hercules was Melicartus, from Melek-carthe, which Bochart translates, *King of the City*,* and it is expressly asserted by Pliny, that Melicartus (corruptly written in our copies Midacritus) first brought tin from the island Cassiteris;† a Greek word which has exactly the same signification with Baratanac, probably a translation of it, for it means the *tin island*; but to what particular part of this remote country from

* Bochart's *Canaan*, p. 709.

† Vide Plinii Nat. Hist. lib vii cap. 56.

Tyre they alluded by that term shall be more fully explained hereafter.

The principles of navigation, and of its sister astronomy, are universally ascribed by the ancients to the Phœnicians. We are informed by Sanchoniatho, in a fragment extant in Eusebius,* that Ousous, one of the most ancient heroes of that nation, took a tree which was half-burnt, cut off the branches, and first ventured upon the vast ocean. This assertion comes well enough from an atheistical Pagan writer who discarded all belief of the deluge and the vessel of Noah; but the sons of the holy patriarch who witnessed that flood, and the building, according to just geometrical proportions, of that vessel; those who, for a whole year, had tenanted the watery deep, who had marked the fury of adverse winds, and the violence of the raging waves, doubtless knew something more of naval architecture and navigation than is here pretended. The authority of Moses himself may be fairly urged against this statement, for that writer expressly declares, that the sons of Japhet, that is, our

* *Præparatio Evangelica*, lib. i. p. 35.

Gomerians,

Gomerians, in their first emigration from the continent of Asia, passed over into the islands and took possession of them : *by these were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands.* Gen. x. 5. This evidently confirms the hypothesis on which the History of Hindostan proceeds, that navigation, like most other sciences, was of antediluvian original, the principles of which were known to the Noachidæ and their immediate descendants, who settled in the districts where the ark rested, but all remembrance of which was in succeeding ages lost by those who emigrated to regions very remote from that favoured portion of Asia. If this had not been the case, how came it to pass, that, for many centuries afterward, the light of rising science and all the principles as well as practice of the arts generally deemed useful flowed thence, as from a common centre, to illuminate distant nations, sunk in the grossest ignorance and barbarity.

Not less decisive is the voice of Pagan antiquity in referring to that enterprizing race the invention of astronomy, and particularly of the constellation which we denominate the Lesser Bear, on the point of whose tail on the
sphere

sphere is fixed the pole-star, that star, whose brilliant and steady light, emaning from the centre of the arctic circle, served and still does serve as an unerring guide to those whom conquest or commerce induce to traverse the pathless ocean. The Greeks, indeed, invading the rights of an older race, have attributed to Thales the honour of first classing together the stars in this asterism; but its prior name of PHŒNICE, frequently bestowed upon it even by the Greeks themselves, is a sufficient refutation of this unjust claim.

To the particular cultivation of these sciences and of that commerce which they extended in time to the remotest regions of the earth, the Phœnicians were irresistibly impelled by their situation on a narrow slip of land stretching along the shore of the Mediterranean Sea between the 34th and 36th degree of north latitude. Inhabiting a barren and ungrateful soil, they were obliged by unwearied industry to correct the deficiencies of nature, and by extensive commercial enterprizes to make the abundant wealth of distant nations and more fertile regions their own. They soon began to send forth colonies to all the surrounding
nations

nations that would receive them ; they established an intercourse with all the islands of the Mediterranean Sea, and with the principal maritime cities of Persia, India, and Egypt. The ports of the Arabian Gulph were crowded with their vessels ; they were the general factors of that Oriental world, in the very centre of which they resided, and all trade was carried on in Phœnician vessels : in a word, they were the BRITONS OF REMOTE ANTIQUITY.

For the reasons and on the grounds already stated to the reader in the preceding chapter, I have supposed that the earliest post-diluvian navigators of the ocean had the knowledge and use of the *magnetic needle* imparted to them by the father of the renovated world, or one of the sacred OGDOAS preserved in the ark, which was piloted through the raging billows by means of that wonderful guide, under the guardianship of divine Providence. I see no reason to retract that opinion, for it is scarcely credible, that without it the first colonies from Asia could ever have reached in safety the distant and dangerous shore of Britain. By the same channel it probably came to the Phœnicians, who might have the art to keep

it secret from the Greeks, as they did, for a long period, the rich source whence they derived that immense quantity of tin with which they supplied the Asiatic markets. Leaving, however, uncertain though not improbable conjecture, let us advert to what genuine history records of the gradual progress of the Phœnician mariners in quest of that commodity towards the western limits of Europe. The reader will please to observe, that I am not now tracing the footsteps of the first settlers to Britain, but of that adventurous race of merchants who first imported to her shores the rich productions of Asia and Africa, when population was increased, and kingdoms, powerful though barbarous, were formed amidst her woody recesses.

To the islands scattered over the Mediterranean, and the neighbouring ports of the Asiatic continent, were probably confined the first rude efforts of Phœnician navigation. By degrees they grew bolder, and coasting westward along the shore of the Mediterranean, but seldom daring to lose sight of it, they discovered the southern point of Spain. That southern point was the mountain Calpe, or modern rock of Gibraltar, situated on the Fretum Herculeum, or Straits
of

of Hercules, and the spot on which that hero is asserted to have erected the famous columns which bear his name; or rather, to quit mythology, the vast rock of Calpe itself is one of those columns, and the mountain Abyla, on the opposite coast of Africa, is the other. They were thought to be the extreme boundary of his voyage westward, and the story of his opening these celebrated straits means only that he first explored them, and discovered the passage through them into the Atlantic Ocean. Calpe was many centuries afterwards visited by the Moors, and called Gebel-taric; whence, according to D'Anville, is corruptly formed its modern name of Gibraltar. At the foot of the mountain they built a city, which they also called Calpe, mentioned by Strabo as a celebrated city in his time. Other ancient geographers denominate this city Cartea, or Melcarteia and Heraclea, deriving the former name from Melicartus, the latter from Hercules, the well-known appellatives of its supposed founder.* It was some time before the Phœnician navigators had courage to pass through these dangerous straits, and explore the great

* See Bochart's *Canaan*, p. 682.

and untried ocean beyond it. Their eager desire, however, to add the wealth of Europe to that of Asia, getting the better of their fears, induced them, at length, to undertake the perilous voyage, and they settled their first colony beyond the straits, at the isle of Gadir, or Gades, on the western coast of Andalusia, which is the modern Cadiz.* Here they built a city very celebrated in antiquity, and erected a magnificent temple to Hercules, which was visited by Apollonius Tyanæus, and is described with its splendid ornaments by his biographer Philostratus. From this city, possessed of one of the most spacious havens in the world, the Phœnicians soon commenced with the people of that country, which abounded in mines of gold and silver, an immense traffic for those precious metals. These were again exported to India, which then, as now, probably swallowed up, as in a bottomless gulph, the bullion of Europe, and, in return, they received the silk of Serinda, and the fine linen and rich gems of the peninsula.

The reader who adverts solely to the present aspect of Spain, and the indolent cha-

* Strabonis Geograph. lib. iii. p. 162, ubi supra.

rafter of the people, will be rather furprised to read this account of the immense riches formerly dug from the bowels of that country, and the commercial exertions of the ancient inhabitants. But, in reality, no fact in history can be better proved, than that mines, scarcely less productive of gold and silver than those of Peru and Potosi, which are now the object of laborious research, were in these early periods worked, as well those situated in the Montes Mariani, in Andalusia, mountains that skirt the territory of Seville, and now called Sierra Morena, as those of Corduba, now Cordova, a region so fertile in golden ore, as to be called by Silius Italicus, who was a native of this country, *Aurifera Terra*,* the land that bore gold. Of this abundant wealth of the ancient Iberians, evidence may be found in the early historical pages of all the great empires of the world that carried on any commerce with them; and, in particular, we are informed by a Greek writer of great and merited celebrity, that, when the Phœnicians first came among them, they found the inhabitants wallowing in gold and silver, and so

* Silius Italicus, lib. iii. verse 401.

willing to part with their riches, from their ignorance of the value of those precious metals, that they exchanged their naval commodities for such an immense weight of them, that their ships could scarcely sustain the loads which they brought away, though they used it for ballast, and made their anchors and other implements of silver.*

It is asserted, though perhaps with some degree of exaggeration, by Diodorus Siculus,† that when the Pyrenæan mountains, so called from the fact about to be related, were, in remote periods, on fire, owing to the incautious or criminal conduct of some shepherds, in kindling a fire too near one of its forests, the flames burnt with such fierceness for many days, that it spread itself almost over the whole ridge, and that the intenseness of the heat melted the silver in the mines, and caused it to run down in rivulets along those hills.

Again we are informed by the same respectable Roman writer, cited so often before,‡

* See Aristotle *De Mirabilibus Auscult.* Opera, vol. i. p. 1165.

† See Diod. Sic. lib. v. p. 358.

‡ Strabo, lib. iii. p. 256.

that

that when the Carthaginians, the next in order of the successive invaders of Spain, first came thither, they found silver in such amazing plenty, that their utensils, even their very mangers, were made of it, and their horses shod with it. And Pliny mentions several rich mines of silver dug there by the Carthaginians, one of which, called Bebel, from the finder of it, yielded Hannibal three hundred pounds of silver per day.*

The excellent historian Livy,† also, acquaints us, that Scipio, upon his return to Rome, carried with him fourteen thousand three hundred and forty-two pounds of silver, besides an immense quantity of coin, clothes, corn, arms, and other valuable things. L. Lentulus is said to have brought away a still much larger treasure; to wit, forty-four thousand pounds of silver, and two thousand five hundred and fifty of gold, besides the money which he divided among his soldiery. L. Manlius brought with him twelve hundred pounds of silver, and about thirty of gold.

* Strabo, lib. xxxiii. cap. 6.

† Liv. lib. i. ii. and iii.

Corn. Lentulus, after having governed the Hither Spain two years, brought away one thousand five hundred and fifteen pounds of gold, and of silver two thousand, besides thirty-four thousand five hundred and fifty denarii in ready coin; whilst his colleague brought from Farther Spain fifty thousand pounds of silver.

What is still more surprising, is, that these immense sums, amounting in all to one hundred and eleven thousand five hundred and forty-two pounds weight of silver, four thousand and ninety-five of gold, besides coin and other things of value, were obtained from that country in the short space of nine years; for just so much time elapsed between the first and the last of these Roman prætors; and not long after they had been as severely pillaged, in all probability, by the Carthaginians.

The Phœnicians having established themselves, as well as the religious rites of their country, at the great commercial port of Gades, or Cades, were not long in making themselves masters of other places on the rich Iberian coast, equally convenient for carrying on that traffic for which they were so celebrated.

brated. The principal of these was Tartessus, situated still farther west, and the capital of an island of the same name, formed by the two streams by which the Bætis anciently emptied itself into the sea, though one of them has been since stopped up. To these two grand emporia were brought down that river the gold, silver, and other valuable productions of Bætica, the modern Andalusia, to be conveyed thence, in Phœnician *bottoms*, (to use a modern maritime phrase,) to those countries of the east, Persia, Assyria, India, and Egypt, the magnificence, luxury, and military enterprizes, of whose sovereigns rendered constant supplies of those precious commodities necessary to them.

Their own country itself produced many articles of superior elegance, very eagerly sought after by those ostentatious and effeminate nations of Asia. Among these the principal were the purple of Tyre, their rich tapestry, and the exceeding fine linen fabricated in the Phœnician looms. The glass of Sidon, the mother of Tyre, was another celebrated commodity exported to the countries of Asia by the Phœnician navigators; and, in the extensive manufacture of this curious article, they had arrived to such a point of perfection, that not
only

only plates nearly as large as any fabricated by the moderns were made in the glass-houses of Sidon, from the fine sand found on the shore of that city, but we also know, from very high authority in antiquity, that they possessed the art of giving them a variety of the most striking and beautiful colours. The curious artificers of that nation were also celebrated for their skill in working in those costly metals that formed the cargoes of their ships, and in the ivory which they obtained in abundance from the neighbouring regions of Africa. For that expensive and beautiful dye above-mentioned, which rendered the Tyrians famous over all the world, and which at this day is for its transcendent excellence appropriated to adorn the robes of princes and magistrates, they are said to have been indebted to mere accident. A shepherd's dog, incited by hunger to range the sea-shore, near that city, seized with his teeth the shell of the fish called MUREX, which, breaking in his mouth, stained it of the colour so much admired. The genius of that mercantile people took advantage of the accident, and, collecting a quantity of those shells, impressed the colour obtained from them on the stuffs fabricated
by

by them; which soon became in general request throughout the East, especially at the courts of princes. This species of purple fish is said to have been peculiar to the shore of Tyre, and is thought to be extinct; at least it is not now to be found there. The antiquity of the discovery is evident, from this colour being so particularly mentioned both in the Mosaic writings and in Homer.* The astonishing perfection at which they had arrived, in the working in metals and ivory, is demonstrated by the sumptuous designs of that kind undertaken and finished by the artists of that nation in the temple of Jerusalem, and in the palace of the magnificent Solomon; the former abounding with emblematical devices in cast or sculptured gold, and the latter adorned with that famous ivory throne, inlaid with pure gold, of which Scripture itself declares *the like had not been made in any nation.*† For proof of their great advance in the elegant arts of engraving and sculpture, not less than of their prodigious wealth, we need not go

* Consult Exodus, chap. xxv. v. 4, and Homer's Iliad, lib. vi. v. 219.

† 1 Kings, chap. x. v. 20.

farther than the temple of Hercules, in their own city of Tyre, which was not less remarkable for the superb mythological devices, the egg of creation, the nymphæa, and the serpent, that adorned its walls, than for those two magnificent columns, the one of massy gold, the other consisting of a solid emerald, which were seen and described by Herodotus, on his visit to that city; the latter of which, he asserts, by night, illuminated the whole of that vast fabric.*

Freighted with the valuable articles of commerce above-enumerated, but chiefly with gold and silver in ingots, which India ever ingulphed, or formed into ornamental vessels for the use of the temples and palaces of Asia, the I hœnician ships sailed directly up the Mediterranean to a port situated on its most southern extremity, and nearest the Arabian Gulph, called in the Itinerary of Antoninus Rhinocorura; by Pliny, Rhinocolura. It is remarkable, that this important haven is not so much as mentioned by so accurate a writer as D'Anville, in his account of Idumæa, though Raphæa, the modern Refah, in its

* Herodot. lib ii. p. 108.

neighbourhood,

neighbourhood, is particularized for an event of far less moment in the annals of ancient history.* Hence they were conveyed by land-carriage to Arsinoe or Suez, the first port on the Arabian Gulph; and, being there re-shipped, were transported down the western shore of that gulph and through the straits of Babelmandeb, along the coasts of Arabia Felix and Deserta, and the maritime provinces of Persia, to the Gulph of Cambay and the continent of India, where they were landed either at Patala, the present Tatta, situated at the mouth of the Indus, or Barygaza, the present Baroach. Having taken this transient view of the general route pursued by the Phœnician navigators to India, previous to their discovery of the Cassiterides, and the western coast of Britain, we must return to their flourishing colonies of Gades and Tartessus on the coast of Spain, to trace the gradual steps which led to that discovery.

* See Cellarii *Geograph. Antiq.* tom. ii. p. 364; Pliny, lib. v. cap. 13; and D'Anville's *Ancient Geography*, vol. i. p. 105.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE COMMERCE ANCIENTLY CARRIED ON BETWEEN PHŒNICIA AND THE BRITISH ISLES, AND BY THE PHŒNICIANS TO THE EAST, FOR TIN.

THIS valuable article of commerce owes its name to an Oriental word intended to denote the appearance which it bore to those Asiatic traders who first explored for tin the mines of the Cassiterides and Cornwall; for, when brought in its crude state from those mines, it is of a dark colour, and, when washed, resembles slime or mud. Pliny and other ancient naturalists denominate it *plumbum album*, white lead, and, in truth, lead and silver are said by the chemist to enter largely into the composition of this ore. We read of no other country that anciently produced tin, at least, in such abundance and purity as the British isles, nor of any people who extensively traded in it, except the Phœnicians; and that trade must have commenced early indeed, since it is enumerated among other metals that passed
through

through the purifying fire in the Pentateuch of Moses,* which cannot be dated less than 1400 years before Christ. It is also mentioned by Homer,† who had too accurate a knowledge of the progressive improvement of mankind in arts and sciences to assign any discoveries to an improper age. But, when those mines are well examined, they exhibit internal testimony of the remote, I had almost said the incalculable, period at which they have been wrought; for, in digging to the depth of fifty fathom, the miners frequently meet with large timbers still entire. These are vulgarly supposed to have been deposited there by the waters of the deluge: but that idea tends to violate M. De Luc's rational hypothesis, which supposes that deluge to have been effected by the sinking down of the ancient continents; and, without going quite so far back in the annals of time, we may reasonably enough conclude them to have been left there by Phœnician workmen, the props and pillars of the exhausted mines, especially when we read, in the same author,

* Numbers, chap. xxxi. v. 22.

† Homer's Iliad, lib. ii. v. 25.

that

that pick-axes, brass nails, and other utensils, are found, at the greatest depths, intermixed with those timbers.*

Tin is itself so beautiful a metal, forms such elegant domestic utensils, the most elegant next to silver, and in the various processes it undergoes by fire makes so considerable an ingredient in other manufactures, that the solicitude of all nations, and especially those addicted to commerce, to obtain it is by no means to be wondered at. The great use indeed of tin and the preparations made from it in the various branches of trade and manufactures, particularly in painting, gilding, and pottery, as well as in the science of chemistry, and anciently in that of medicine, though, from its poisonous qualities, generally and justly rejected by the modern practitioner, is too well known to be here insisted on. The Tyrians themselves are supposed, by solutions of this metal, to have greatly enhanced and fixed the beautiful colour of their purple dye,† and our own manufactured broad-cloth is affirmed to owe its decided superiority in the

* See Chaldrey's Natural History, p. 8.

† See Pryce's Mineralogical Cornubiensis, p. 17.

markets of Europe to its being dyed *in the grain*, as it is called, in liquids, where this metal has formed a principal ingredient.

There is a very clear and particular account given in the Philosophical Transactions of the method of obtaining and preparing this metal in the mines of Cornwall, which, though too full of technical phrases, known only on the spot, to be inserted at length, may yet be acceptable to the mercantile reader, in the abridgement which is here presented to him.

The ore is only to be obtained by the most elaborate exertions of the miner. The veins descend to very great depths, sometimes to the distance of sixty feet from the surface, and it is often found imbedded in rocks, scarcely penetrable by the tools of the workmen. It is also a labour of extreme hazard, from the arsenic with which tin is strongly impregnated; and sulphureous damps and malignant vapours, exhaled around him, often interrupt his progress through those regions of darkness and peril. Superstition has added to the terrors of the scene, for, to use the express words of my author, “ The labourers tell stories of sprights of *small people*, as they call them; and, that when the damp arises from

the subterraneous vaults, they hear strange noises, horrid knockings, and fearful hammerings. These damps render many lame, and kill others outright, without any visible hurt upon them."*

The ore is differently denominated as it is found in its more pure or mixed state. That which is called *boll* is properly the *mine-tin*, as it is obtained from the load, or vein, and it is usually dug up in grains or chrystals of a black colour, the blacker the richer, and in lumps of various magnitude. *Sbode-tin* is that which is mixed with stony and earthy matter, found in masses of much larger size, and in the immediate vicinity of the vein. The *stream-tin* ore is a name given to particles of the mineral, broken off from the *load*, running through high mountainous regions, by the waters of the deluge (say the miners,) or by other impetuous floods, and carried by the violence of the stream into deep valleys at a great distance. There, collected into heaps, they have, in different places, formed strata of considerable depth and breadth, and lie inter-

* Dr. Monnet on the Cornish mines, in Philosophical Transactions Abridged, vol. ii. p. 572.

mixed with the gravel and clay which was torn away with them from their original bed. The fragments are found in the form of small pyramids, of various planes, and are of different sizes, from the bigness of a walnut to the finest sand. Of this sort, principally, well washed, stamped, and purified by repeated fusion, is made the finest *grain tin*, and its superiority to the metal dug from the mine arises from its being free from the mundic, and other mineral substances, which generally impregnate and contaminate the latter.

Having discussed the various kinds of this metal in its original state, we come to their mode of preparing, or, as the miners call it, *dressing*, the tin. When the ore is dug out and landed, and the larger masses are broken by men appointed to that duty, it is brought, on horses, to the stamping-mills; where, being placed in a great wooden receiver, called the *coffer*, it is ground to small sand by maffy iron weights, fastened to the ends of strong beams of timber. These timbers are called *lifters*, are made of heart of oak, eight or nine feet in length, and, being raised up and depressed by means of a water-wheel, are precipitated down with prodigious force on the

matter to be pulverized. The ore, thus reduced to powder, is, by an ingenious process, particularly described in the paper referred to, washed out of the *coffer* into a long and deep trench, cut in the floor, called, *the launder*, stopped only with turf at one end, through which the water gradually oozes away, while the ore itself, purged of its impurities, subsides and settles at the bottom. The sand and gravelly particles, which, being lighter than the ore, remain uppermost, being removed, the ore is repeatedly washed and cleansed, and in the end is sent to the smelting, or, as with more propriety they term it, the *burning-house*. There, being as repeatedly subjected to the fire to free it from the mundic and other foreign substances, still intimately adhering to the ore, and afterwards, passing through the more intense heat of the *refining-fire*, where all its remaining dross is skimmed off, the burning mass is poured into moulds, holding exactly three hundred and twenty pounds weight; and, being left to cool, it is, in that state, called *block-tin*. Before they are quite cold, the blocks are stamped with the house-mark of the smelters, a pelican, a plume of feathers, or
some

some such device, in proof of the genuineness of the metal; they are then weighed, numbered, and sent to the nearest town that has the privilege of coining to be assayed, and to receive the farther impression of the dutchy seal, which bears a lion rampant, the arms of Richard Earl of Cornwall, without which impression it cannot become an article of merchandize, domestic or foreign. This is called the *coinage* of the tin, and every one hundred weight of tin thus coined, by ancient usage, pays a duty of four shillings to the Duke, producing a vast, though of necessity a varying, income to the heir-apparent of the British crown; an income, however, that must constantly increase, as new channels for the exportation of this useful article are discovered, or the old ones enlarged by the merchants of England, in their private or collective capacity; a circumstance which proves the obligation of the present illustrious possessor of its revenues, to the laudable exertions of the present enlightened Court of East-India Directors, to revive that important branch of ancient commerce with Asia.

The towns appointed for the coinage of tin were anciently only four in number, situated

in those districts of the county which were considered most convenient for the tanners, by name Lefkard, Leftwithiel, Truro, and Helston. The nearest of these, however, was found too far distant from the tanners on its western extremity; and, for their accommodation, Charles the Second added Penzance. To one or other of these places the tin is brought on the four great quarterly festivals of the year, and so great has the consumption increased, that though, when Carew wrote his volume, the total annual amount of the tin sold did not exceed 40,000*l.* it has of late years risen to near 200,000*l.* — Gough's new edition of Camden, p. 10.

The important light in which the British legislature have ever regarded this national source of industry and wealth, in periods long antecedent to those in which our woollen manufactures came to be in such high estimation in the markets of Europe, the grand STAPLE commodity of the country, is conspicuously evident in the great number of immunities and charters granted, at different æras, by English kings and parliaments, to the inhabitants of this western province, by way of encouragement to them, to direct their whole
attention

attention to the native riches treasured in the bosom of their favoured country ; immunities so various, and charters so extensive in their concessions, that this part of Cornwall seems, as it were, a separate kingdom, governed by a parliament of its own, and subject to a jurisdiction peculiarly calculated for the convenience and comfort of the natives. The chief power in these districts is vested in an officer called the lord-warden of the stannaries, who is supreme in law and equity, in cases that affect not the life of the subject, and from his sentence there is no appeal but to the Duke of Cornwall, in council, and, in case of the death or minority of that prince, to the crown.

Having taken this general survey of the method of exploring and preparing, for the public market, the tin found in the mines of Cornwall, having also given the reader some idea of the importance of this branch of trade to the kingdom, as well as of the quantity of metal coined in that western county, a survey, however, only introductory to more particular and detailed statements hereafter, it is now necessary that we should revert our eye to the two infant colonies which we have

seen the Phœnicians were able to establish at Gades, or Gadir, on the Fretum Herculeum, and at the still more western city of Tartessus. The account which I have above given, from ancient authors of the greatest authenticity, supposes the gold and silver mines of Bætica already explored and wrought, and the metal found in them, as having passed through the smelting and refining house in order for exportation, previous to the arrival of the Phœnicians on that coast. This circumstance exhibits very forcible proof of the rapid progress made by the Celtic colonies, who established themselves in Spain in the science of metallurgy, and without admitting all the romantic claims made by the historians of that nation, who insist upon it, that their empire was founded by Tubal, the fifth son of Japhet, about the one hundred and fortieth year after the flood,* full credit may be allowed the first post-diluvian settlers, according to the hypothesis of these volumes, for carrying away with them from Shinar a considerable portion of information in a science which made the ante-dilu-

* Vide Sanchoniatho in Berosus, and Josephi Antiq. Judaic. lib. i. cap. 3.

vian Tubal-Cain so renowned in his generation, and the remembrance of which, doubtless, was not wholly erased from the minds of the Noachidæ. To those, however, who may pertinaciously reject our reasonable hypothesis, other causes of early improvement in that laborious branch of science, will, upon reflection, without difficulty, be acceded to, as for instance, the accidental burning of vast forests, which history asserts was the case with those of the great Pyrenean range which dissolved the metals then lying nearer the surface of the earth, or fires kindled on the shore by shipwrecked mariners for the sake of warming themselves, or dressing their provisions, which might easily have happened on the Cornish shore, where the tin-ore, according to Dr. Borlase,* is frequently washed down from the high hills, whose summits, or sides, have been bared by the violence of tempests and mountain torrents, or broken by shocks of thunder.

It was not only gold and silver for the production of which the mountains of Spain were anciently famous; they had, also, rich

* Natural History of Cornwall, p. 164.

veins of copper, which according to Sir H. Mackworth, on the subject of Mines, p. 151, always grows in the same places with gold and silver, and greatly participates of the nature of those metals. This too must have proved a valuable discovery to the other Phœnician merchants, since we know, from Homer and other Greek writers, that the ancients took great delight in having their domestic utensils, arms, and accoutrements, of brass, which is only a factitious metal, formed by a mixture of the *lapis calaminaris* with copper in fusion; and this process must have been known to mankind before the flood, or Tubal-Cain could never have been *the instructor of every artificer in BRASS and iron*. Add to this that copper and brass in the more ancient periods of the world were the universal medium by which commerce was carried on, at least in the western regions of the globe. A piece of brass stamped with the figure of an ox, whence Pliny derives the word *pecunia*, was the only money known in Rome, during the early ages of that republic. It was called an As; supposed to be derived from *Æs*, brass; and hence the public treasury was called *ærarium*. It was not, according to the same writer,

writer, till the year of Rome 484, that silver money began to be coined in that capital; and their first gold coinage did not take place till the year of that city 546, above sixty years after. The current coin, also, of our rude British ancestors, notwithstanding they were not actually without gold and silver before Cæsar's invasion, consisted either of coined brass, or *annulis ferreis*, iron rings, whose value was according to their weight; and, since Cæsar affirms, *ære utuntur importato*,* “the Britons use brass imported by foreigners;” it is more than probable that the Phœnicians, retaining the Spanish bullion for the Indian ports, gave the Britons brass in exchange for the tin of the Cassiterides. But of this subject we shall discourse more at large presently: let us return to their settlement of Gades.

If Pliny may be credited, that division of Spain called Lusitania, now Portugal, besides the gold which was rolled down with the sands of its celebrated Tagus, of which most pure metal the sovereigns of that country are said at this day to possess a sceptre, abounded in mines of lead, whence the inhabitants of Meidabriga,

* Cæsar's Comment. lib. v. p. 92.

one of its cities near the lead mines, now Armenha, are by him denominated Plumbarii, and also produced a small quantity of tin, of an inferior sort, and found generally in an arenaceous state.* After all, though this account is far from being improbable, no very great stress is to be laid upon the information, as the ancients did not make that nice discrimination in regard to these metals which the more minute investigations of the moderns in mineralogical science enabled them to make; for, according even to Pliny, in the very chapter cited, they considered *lead* and *tin* as only two different stages of one and the same metal. Tin was called *plumbum album*, and esteemed the purest; and the metal which we call lead was their *plumbum nigrum*. This small quantity of tin, if indeed it were tin, to be met with in Lusitania, probably urged the Phœnician settlers of Gades and Tartessus widely to explore the western world for increased stores of so useful yet so rare a metal; and launching more widely into the wide ocean, and holding a course still more westerly, they in time discovered the Cassiterides, by

* Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. xxxiv. cap. 16.

which

which are now universally understood the Scilly islands.

These celebrated islands in the annals of commerce derive their name from *κασιτερον*, a Greek word, signifying TIN, and which is the exact translation of the Phœnician Bratanac, or the land of tin, whence *Βρετανική* and Britain. This was their foreign appellation, given them, as may be supposed, by merchants solicitous to distinguish the place by a name expressive of its principal production. The original British appellation of these islands is said to be SYLLEH, or *rocks sacred to the Sun*, a circumstance by no means improbable, when we consider the monuments of the solar superstition yet remaining among them, of which some have been described in the preceding sections, and many more probably yet remain unexplored. Wherever the Heraclidæ and the Belidæ came, they left striking memorials of that first and favourite superstition of mankind. They were also called by the ancients the HESPERIDES, or Western Islands; but by whatever name they were distinguished, the western extremity of Cornwall, which is narrow and prominent to the eye that anciently surveyed it from the Cassiterides, might appear

appear of an insular form, must be included in that name, for there lay the grand store-house of the commodity, in quest of which they had travelled, by a tedious and dangerous navigation, from Tyre, in the 34th to a country in the 50th degree of north latitude. They saw, with delight, the dark grains of this valued metal scattered plentifully over the shores of the new-discovered region, and from its slimy appearance denominated it טִינָה, *mud*; whence was formed its Cornish name of *Stean*, and the Latin word *stannum*.

The Scilly islands are very numerous, but ten are of principal note, and exhibit the marks of having been in a state of vigorous cultivation, and extremely populous in ancient periods; five only are inhabited; the most considerable at present of which is St. Mary's, being about nine miles in circumference, and containing about 700 inhabitants. The next in size is Tresco; and, from the ruins of an abbey and other buildings upon it, appears formerly to have been well-peopled, though at present scarcely forty families are to be found in its whole extent. This island is remarkable for being the only one which retains any vestiges of a tin mine. The light-house is erected on
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St. Agnes, one of the smallest islands of this cluster, and is a structure equally noble and useful in a sea of very difficult and dangerous navigation. Presumptive evidence and obscure tradition incline the naturalist, who takes a view of the abrupt appearance and totally altered state of these islands, from what they are historically described to have been, to believe that some dreadful convulsion of nature has taken place in this region; and that the greater part of them have been shattered by some earthquake, or submerged by some tremendous irruption of the surrounding ocean. They are no longer celebrated for lead and tin; no longer do they allure the avaricious merchant; and the Asiatic mariner no longer bears to their spacious harbours the jewels and spices of the fragrant East; but they remain and long will continue to remain an awful monument of the vicissitudes of nature and the wreck of time.

The principal foundation for a belief in this change rests upon a passage in Diodorus Siculus, which I shall presently insert at length, and which seems to prove that a part of these islands was once situated so closely adjoining to the continent, that, when the tide

was low, a passage over into the island might be easily effected at the recess of the waters, and that the miners actually conveyed the tin over in carts to Ictis, one of those islands where it was bought by the merchants, and exported thence into Gaul. At present, however, the nearest of the Scilly islands is distant from the continent at least nine leagues, and either Diodorus must have been grossly misinformed, or the intermediate land must have been swallowed up in the deep; a circumstance which I have observed deserves some credit from traditions current in that part of Cornwall.*

Mr. Carew, in his Survey of Cornwall, a book written nearly two centuries ago, and the obsolete language of which has not entirely obscured the elegance and spirit with which it is penned, has in the following passage, which I have copied verbatim, recorded the sentiments of his countrymen on this subject, and at the same time establishes the truth of the actual recess of the sea.

“ The sea gradually encroaching on the shore hath ravined from Cornwall the whole

* Borlase's Natural History of Cornwall, p. 177.

tract of countrie called LIONNESSE, together with divers other parcels of no little circuite; and that such a countrie of Lionnesse there was, these proofes are yet remaining. The space between the *Land's End* and the Isles of Scillee, being about thirtie miles, to this day retaineth that name, in Cornish *Lethowfow*, and carrieth continually an equal depth of forty or sixty fathom, (a thing not usual in the sea's proper dominion,) saue that about the midway, there lieth a rocke, which at low water discovereth its head. They term it the Gulphe, suiting thereby the other name of *Scilla*. Fishermen also casting their hookes thereabouts have drawn up pieces of doores and windowes. Moreover the ancient name of Saint *Michæl's Mount* was Caracloase in Cowse, in English the hoare rocke in the wood, which now is at every flood incompassed by the sea, and yet at some low ebbes roots of mightie trees are discryed in the sands about it. The like overflowing has taken place in Plymouth-Haven, and divers other places."*

Situated nearly opposite to the coast of Galicia, in Spain, the voyage from Gades to the

* Carew's Survey of Cornwall, p. 7.

Cassiterides might be accomplished by the Phœnicians in no great length of time; and, under the guidance of Spanish mariners, who were doubtless not unacquainted with the navigation of that part of the Atlantic, at no very imminent hazard. What the particular articles of commerce which they brought with them to Britain, and what they carried back in exchange, at that early period, were, we have the good fortune to have express information from so authentic an author as Strabo. "The Phœnicians," says that writer, "imported from Gades into Britain salt, pottery, and utensils of brass; they exported from Britain tin, lead, and the skins of beasts."* It is remarkable, that Pliny, in the very same chapter in which he relates that such a quantity of lead was found in Britain, that it became necessary to enact a particular law, to prevent its being dug up in such an abundance as might tend to depreciate its value, acquaints us, *India neque æs neque plumbum habet; gemmisque suis ac margaritis hæc permutat*: India itself has no mines of copper or lead; but is content to barter for these commodities her precious

* Strabonis Geograph. lib. iii. p. 146.

gems and pearls.* By this means we are immediately enabled to discover what was at least *one* of the principal articles which the Indians derived from Britain, and of what nation were the merchants who trafficked in it to that distant coast; even those who so assiduously explored it in the farthest regions of the west.

The articles used in exchange between the two nations deserve some consideration. On the one side were given salt, pottery, and brass; on the other, tin, lead, and skins. By the first article it appears that the art of procuring salt from the waters of the ocean, or the practice of digging in their own abundant mines for rock-salt, was not then known in Britain: yet to a race living on an island, of which the surrounding sea and the numerous rivers were plentifully stocked with fish of the most excellent sort, salt, either marine or fossil, for preserving and pickling it, if not for their own use, (since Cæsar asserts, though with no shadow of probability, they entirely abstained from eating fish,) yet for the use of others, and the purposes of commerce, was indispensably necessary, as well as for seasoning and pre-

* Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. xxxv. cap. 17.

serving the flesh of the beasts killed in hunting, and whose skins, we see, formed also a material article of barter. The salt imported hither by the Phœnicians was, probably, of the fossil kind, and obtained from the mountains of Catalonia, in Spain, where are stupendous mines of rock-salt, probably wrought in the remotest periods by a people naturally led to subterraneous researches, by the vast profit arising from those which they possessed of metal. Such were the principal uses to which our painted ancestors applied the salt brought to them by the Phœnicians, no doubt in very large quantities, as our forests abounded in game, and our coasts probably then as now swarmed with overflowing treasures of the choicest fish; that game and that fish, which, preserved from putrefaction by this pungent and powerful ingredient, possibly made no small part of the cargo which that maritime race carried away with them from this island, to support the crews of their vessels during their long voyages to distant and different regions of the earth. If, however, to *them* and to *their* fleet, in that infant state of navigation, this grand article of naval consumption was so immediately, so indispensably, necessary,

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how much more so, and in what an astonishingly increased proportion must it be to the modern Phœnicians of the western world: to us, whose innumerable fleets cover the ocean, and whose sails are expanded (oh! may they long continue so!) in every climate and almost every harbour of the now circumnavigated globe. When we consider the immense quantity of salted provisions constantly laid up in magazines at home for the use of the greatest navy that ever the world beheld, and the amazing expenditure of the same commodity in such as are annually exported to the plantations, how much reason have we to applaud the patriot spirit, so similar to that displayed in respect to the highly increased exportation of the ancient national staple, TIN, and other articles of British growth and manufacture, by the Court of Directors; that spirit, I say, which explored the bosom of our own rich country for the latent treasure, and which has thereby not only prevented the sending abroad some millions of the national wealth for foreign salt, but by diligently working the great mines of rock-salt discovered in Cheshire and other provinces of Britain, and promoting the vigorous domestic manu-

facture of it, has given employment and bread to so many thousands of the industrious poor. Add to this that other most important consideration, that the national revenue is, in all these cases, proportionably improved, as must be evident to the reader, when he is informed, that the gross duty on salt annually amounts to nearly a million sterling. These reflections will, I trust, not be considered as wholly irrelevant to the subject; for I think it my duty, as a friend to my country, to make these statements; that, whatever may be the event of the present convulsed order of things in Europe, we may fully know, learn properly to value, and diligently to improve, the inestimable blessings bestowed by Providence on these islands.

With respect to the POTTERY asserted by Strabo to have been anciently imported into this country, it will scarcely be doubted, that the Phœnicians of Sidon, who, from the fine sand and pebbles scattered over their shores, finely ground together and mixed with the ashes of burnt vegetables, could manufacture such excellent glass, were also able, by a similar process, from the various species of argillaceous earths which that part of Asia affords,

to

to fabricate porcelain of as various kinds and degrees in fineness; as well the splendid painted vase for the palaces of Syria, as the more homely utensils for the rude Briton, who, now, spurning the vulgar drinking-horn, quaffed from them the fermented liquor, extracted from barley and other vegetable productions of his country, which animated him to the battle, with as much ardour as the nobles of Babylon regaled on the sparkling beverage pressed from the delicious grape of the palm and the cypress. The pottery of Sidon would not fail to be proportionably improved, as, from their proficiency in their grand staple manufacture of glass, they could not want either skill or materials to give their earthen-ware that shining vitreous envelope which equally tends to beautify and preserve it. How greatly in this respect, also, is the scene changed! Sidon and her daughter, Tyre, are no more, and the British manufacture of pottery is not exceeded by any thing of the kind produced in Europe, while her porcelain, especially that manufactured at Chelsea, is making rapid advances to rival even the Oriental. To stimulate national industry in this point, it should be remembered, that our country contains in itself

all the materials necessary for the carrying these valuable articles of its modern commerce to the utmost point of attainable perfection. Dr. Lister, in the Philosophical Transactions, has enumerated no less than two-and-twenty different kinds of clay, which he has arranged in order, and exhibited, in the form of a table* of clays, to the notice of that Society; and it is well deserving the attention of the public, since, in all probability, most of these clays, if proper experiments were made, would be found serviceable to the potter, and the great use, elegance, and beauty, of our tobacco-pipe clay, are too well known to be here insisted on. If the Chinese, without any considerable advance in chemical knowledge, or correct idea of enamelling and painting, have been able to furnish Europe with such beautiful specimens of porcelain, what may not in time be accomplished by a nation so much their superior in all the branches of science that form the basis of that beautiful manufacture? Another instance of the patriotism of the East-India Directors ought by no means, in this place, to

* See that table in Philosop. Transact. Abridged, vol. ii. p. 454.

be omitted; that, principally for the sake of promoting the British manufacture, they have, for some time past, refrained from importing Oriental porcelain, the plenty and cheapness of which could not fail of operating towards the depression of that made in Britain.

Although the subterraneous regions of this island abound with mines of the richest copper, and of the best species of the *lapis calaminaris*, or calamine, from the cement of which mineral with the former the facitious metal, which we call brass, is composed; yet, by some strange infatuation, neither were those mines wrought till within these two centuries, nor had we any brass besides what was imported from abroad, till long after that period. The art of making brass is said to have been long kept secret in Europe by the miners of Germany; but was indubitably known, as was before shewn, during the remotest periods, in Asia. Its having been used, during those early times, and in the infancy of the European empires, as money, is a proof of the value and rarity of this metal in the west, and probably was one cause of its having been made by the Phœnicians a principal article of
barter

barter in their traffic with the old Britons. Before the intrinsic excellence of our own *calamine* was fully known, great quantities of Indian zinc, under the name of *tutenach*, were brought into this country by the ships of the Company; and it is remarkable, that it was imported after the very same manner as the tin of Cornwall is now exported to that country, as the ballast of those ships. This is judiciously restoring commerce to the simple original unperplexed mode after which it was carried on in the first ages of the world, viz. the exchange of commodities immediately drawn from the one country for such as are the immediate produce of the other; and perhaps the nearer trade can be brought back to that primitive rational plan, so much the more mutually advantageous will it turn out to the nations conducting it on these principles. Having taken this survey of the commodities imported by the Tyrian merchants into Britain, we return to our inquiry respecting the British exports, the first of which in order and importance was tin; but the farther consideration of that ancient staple we shall at present defer, to speak of the other two articles, mentioned by Strabo, lead and hides.

It

It has been before observed, that the ancients considered tin and lead as only two different states of the same metal, calling the former *plumbum album*, and the latter *plumbum nigrum*; but modern chemical experiments have incontrovertibly proved them to be two metals, radically distinct. The great use of the former, in various branches of trade and manufacture, have been already in part enumerated; those of the latter metal in the same line are still more important, and indeed the various preparations from lead must have been indispensable to a nation devoted, as one great tribe of the Indians always has been, to the most elegant designs in mechanic science: a tribe, the members of which are from their very birth, and from generation to generation, fully instructed in all the arts peculiarly tending to promote a flourishing and vigorous commerce, as well domestic as foreign. The beautiful varnish, the vivid painting, and curious gilding, displayed on their cabinet and other furniture; their elegant work in enamel, and the rich glaze on the porcelain of Asia, into all which those preparations must of necessity largely enter, are proofs of this assertion. — To be more particular in regard
to

to the uses to which lead is applied. From thin plates of this metal, exposed to the fumes of warm vinegar, is obtained the composition, called CERUSE, or white lead, which forms the basis of several kinds of paint. From lead, either in calcination or in fusion, are produced MASTICOT, or yellow ochre, MINIUM, or red lead, LITHARGE, or glass of lead, so necessary in the various occupations of the painter, the plumber, the glazier, the dyer, the potter, &c. &c. that without it, half the business of the handicraft could not be carried on. With sheets of lead the tops of our houses are guarded against the injury of sun and weather; with lead, or its composition, *putty*, our windows are secured; lead, formed into pipes, carries away the *ordures* from our dwellings, and brings us water to purify them. Pewter, that bright factitious metal, once in such general repute through Europe, and now forming the domestic utensils of its less polished and affluent nations, is composed of tin, combined with a certain quantity of lead; the physician acknowledges its powerful though hazardous effect in medicine; the chemist well knows its indispensable utility in the fusion and refining of other metals; in short, next to tin,

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it is the ancient boast of our isle, and one of the best gifts of the Guardian Providence that watches over it.

The evidence afforded by Pliny concerning the great abundance of lead dug up in his time, in Britain, has been already noticed, but the preceding member of the sentence, from which that evidence is taken, being of importance in this inquiry, as pointing out the other regions where it was found, the whole passage is here subjoined. *Laboriosius in Hispania erutum totasque per Gallias; sed in Britannia summo terræ corio adeo large, ut lex ultro dicatur, ne plus certo modo fiat.* This metal was with great difficulty and labour obtained from the mines of Spain and Gaul, but was produced in such plenty, and so near the surface in Britain, that an express law was necessary to prohibit its being dug and manufactured, except after a certain proportion, fixed by that law.* The ancient treasures of this metal were not confined to Cornwall, but mines of it have been immemorially wrought in various and distant provinces of

* Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. xxxiv. cap. 17.

the kingdom, particularly in Lancashire, Somersetshire, and Denbighshire.

The last article of traffic between the old Britons and the Phœnicians, mentioned by Strabo, was the skins of beasts, which probably formed one of the oldest species of barter practised in the dawn of society and in the infancy of commerce. This species of exchange, indeed, is very reasonably presumed of a race existing in a state bordering upon savage, whose principal delight and whose constant employment consisted in hunting the innumerable animals that browsed on their mountains or roamed in their forests. They must also have had among them the art of preparing and preserving these skins, since we are informed, by ancient authors, that they covered with hides the wicker boats in which they sailed about the creeks and harbours of their indented coasts.

On the subject of these wicker vessels, it may be observed, that, fragile as they may appear, they were strong enough for a race who probably never ventured beyond the creeks and harbours of their native coast; and it is deserving of remark, that, according to Pietro D'Ella Valle, the very same kind of boats, formed

formed of reeds, compacted together in the manner of hurdles,* and covered with the skins of animals, are at this day used, probably on account of their lightness, on a shore abounding with coral rocks, where heavier vessels might be in danger of being dashed in pieces, by some of the bordering nations who are accustomed to traffic along the coast of the Arabian Gulph. Travellers, also, who have visited the Icelandic Seas, affirm, that the vessels of that northern race are composed of long poles strongly bound round with leathern thongs, and covered with the skins of sea-dogs, sewed together with the sinews of that animal. No doubt the Cornish coast abounded with seals and other marine animals, whose skins might be applied to a similar purpose by the Britons; or, if not, animals by land were by no means wanting who might afford them plentiful supplies of this kind, not only for domestic use but for exportation. The fertile island of Britain indeed seems ever to have nourished a numerous and vigorous breed of cattle, more than sufficient for the consumption of its own offspring. The ox, grown to

a vast magnitude in her rich and extensive pastures, lent them his hide, an ample shelter and defence from the violence of the waters and the weather. The skins of that animal, also, formed the covering of their reed-built huts, and of those large granaries of corn, *laid up in the ear*, for which, according to ancient authors, they were not less famous than their fons. Her breed of sheep, too, though neither so numerous nor so famous as those of modern æras, afforded the old Britons abundance of skins for exportation: flocks of goats, however, an animal equally valued by them for its milk and its flesh, were in ancient far more abundant and cherished than in modern Britain; and it is probable that both the wool of the former, and the hair of the latter, being afterwards properly prepared, received the impression of the beautiful dye of Tyre. To these may be added, the innumerable species of game of every kind, with which her vast forests were anciently stocked, the wild boar, of delicious flavour; the red and the fallow deer, of superior beauty and size; the wolf, the fox, and beaver, valuable for their fur; and the fleet hare, equally estimable for his flesh and his skin; that flesh, which, according

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ing to Cæsar, was forbidden to be tasted by the old Britons, but is happily not so by their progeny: these, with the various kinds of the feathered race, valuable for their flavour and fine down, so well calculated to gratify the pride and indolent luxury of the East, demonstrate the treasures of this kind possessed by those who made this species of commodity a principal object of foreign traffic.

I cannot conclude this head without another observation, which naturally arises from a part of the subject before discussed. When we read of these wicker boats, with their integuments of hides, of our ancestors, how is a modern Englishman tempted to smile at these first rude efforts of British mariners to navigate the ocean; who, timid, and creeping close to the shore, little dreamed of those stupendous structures, in the form of ninety and one hundred gun ships, in the womb of time to be launched on its surface by their dauntless posterity; much less that a numerous fleet of these, issuing from the spacious haven of Falmouth or Plymouth, would ever boldly sail to the distant latitudes of Phœnicia itself, and roll the thunder of Britain around the

shores of that Asia to which their tin, their lead, and their skins, were exported.

In resuming our account of the Phœnician tin-trade, the first circumstance deserving attention is the account given by Orosius, a learned Spanish writer of the fifth century, of an ancient Pharos of admirable workmanship, erected at Corunna, on the coast of Galicia, in Spain; which province, it has been before observed, lies directly opposite, in a south-west direction, to Cornwall.* This Pharos is by the same Spanish writer asserted to have been erected by Hercules, that is, the chief of the first Tyrian colony which traded to Britain, assuming the name of the founder of Tyre, and the appellation originally bestowed upon it was the usual one given to the monuments said to be erected by that hero, to perpetuate the memory of his progress and exploits, viz. COLUMNÆ, afterwards corrupted into *Corunna*. Orosius acquaints us, that this Pharos was there placed, *ad speculum Britanniaë*, for the direction of ships bound thither from Britain; and it is surely a very remarkable circumstance, that the opposite land, consisting of a

* Vide Pauli Orosii adversus Paganos Hist. lib. i. p. 17.

promontory running about three miles into the sea, on the Cornish, or rather Devonshire, coast, is called Hertland, or Hertey-Point; that is, *Herculis Promontorium*, or, as it may be expressed in maritime phrase, *Cape Hercules*. The name of this promontory, scarcely otherwise to be accounted for, has given birth to a reasonable conjecture, though not sanctioned by direct tradition, that on its extreme point was anciently erected a similar Pharos, or, at least, a beacon, to serve as a guide to the Phœnician and Spanish mariners exploring the dangerous coast of Britain. Add to this, that the Latin name of *Cape Finisterre* itself, or *Promontorium Celticum*, serves decisively to mark both the eastern race who first peopled Spain, and their progress to this western region of it.

When the merchants arrived in Britain, they seem to have resorted to some public emporium, where a mutual commerce for the articles wanted by each nation was commenced; but concerning such emporium and the ancient method of preparing and vending the tin, we have only the following obscure passage in *Diodorus Siculus*, which, however, seems to confirm the conjecture, that a considerable por-

tion of ground, lying between the Land's End and the Scylla Isles, has either sunk or been submerged. "The men of Belerium," says that writer, "manufacture their tin with great ingenuity; for, though the land is rocky, it has soft veins of earth running through it, in which the tinnerns find the treasure, and which they extract, melt, and purify. Then shaping it, by moulds, into a kind of cubical figure, they carry it off to a certain island lying near the British shore, which they call Ictis; for, at the recess of the tide, the space between the island and the main land being dry, the tinnerns embrace that opportunity of carrying their tin in carts, as fast as possible, over to the Ictis; for it must be observed, that the islands which lie between the Continent and Britain have this singularity, that, when the tide is full, they are real islands; but, when the sea retires, they are but so many peninsulas. From this island the merchants buy the tin of the natives, and export it into Gaul; and, finally, through Gaul, by a journey of about thirty days, they bring it down on horses to the mouth of the Eridanus."* By the Ictis

* Diod. Sic. lib. iv. p. 301.

here mentioned, it is impossible Diodorus could mean the Ictis, or Vectis, of the ancients, at present called the Isle of Wight; for, as Dr. Borlase properly observes, he is speaking of the western extremity of Cornwall, from which that island is distant near two hundred miles.* His own conjecture is both rational and just, when he adds, by Ictis that historian must have meant some place near the coast of Cornwall, and Ictis must either have been a general name for any peninsula on a creek, *IK* being a common Cornish word denoting a cove, creek, or part of traffic, or else it must have been used to signify some particular peninsula or emporium on the same coast, which has now lost its *isthmus*, name, and perhaps wholly disappeared, by means of some great alteration on the sea-shore of this country.†

This account of Diodorus, though not very elucidatory in respect to the commercial transactions of the Phœnicians in Britain, appears to me to open a new view of the subject, and makes us acquainted with another channel by which the tin of Britain was conveyed into the Me-

* Natural History of Cornwall, p. 177.

† Ibid.

diterranean; for, by the mouths of the Eridanus, which is probably the mistake of some transcriber, since the sense of the context proves the Rhone to be the river intended, by that expression must be meant some city or emporium, situated in that latitude, not far from that point of the coast at which the Rhone discharges itself into the Mediterranean; either Narbonne, the capital of that division of Gaul, called by the Romans Narbonensis, or the ancient but more remote commercial city of Mefalia, now Marseilles, whence it might easily be forwarded, in Tyrian or Gaulic vessels, to the Phœnician territories. It is evident, therefore, that the Gallic merchants, at some period or other, largely participated in this lucrative trade, though I am inclined to think this account of Diodorus more applicable to the course of that commerce in his own, which was the Augustan, age, than the early times to which we allude, especially since Herodotus, who flourished 450 years before Christ, frankly confesses his ignorance of the exact situation of the Cassiterides, “whence,” says that writer, “comes all our tin.” In truth, the profound policy of the Phœnicians induced them to observe an inviolable

lable secrecy in regard to the islands, the grand source of their wealth in the article of tin, lest other nations should become their rivals in this trade, and rend from them a portion of the enormous gains resulting from their monopoly of it. In proof of their jealous caution on this point, may be adduced the following relation given by Strabo: The master of a Phœnician vessel, employed in this trade, thinking himself closely pursued by one of Rome, chose to run upon a shoal, and suffer shipwreck, rather than discover the prohibited tract, or disclose the least opening, by which another nation might be introduced to the knowledge of the Cassiterides; and, for the wise and intrepid spirit of patriotism, displayed by this conduct, he is said, on his return to Tyre, to have been loaded with wealth and honours by the magistrates of that city.*

Having now considered the two channels, by which, in those ancient times, this metal was exported to Asia, viz. in the Phœnician vessels, by the way of the Straits of Gades, direct to Tyre, and through Gaul, on horses to Narbonne or Marfeilles, on the Mediterra-

* Strabonis Geograph. lib. iii. p. 199.

nean, where the merchants of that nation, resorting in person, or through the medium of their Gallic agents, might have established a mart for the public sale of this commodity; it remains for inquiry, whether there did not anciently exist another route for the transportation to India of this and other European commodities less tedious and hazardous than that by the way of the Arabian Gulph. In pursuing this inquiry, we meet with a striking and wonderful proof of the beneficial effect which an extensive and flourishing commerce has not only upon the nations of the earth themselves, but also on the very regions which they inhabit; for, in the bosom of the barren and mountainous desert of Syria, the active spirit of that commerce gave being to a city, which, in beauty and magnificence, once vied with the proudest capitals of the Oriental world; a city, whose celebrity and grandeur we learn, not only from the doubtful page of the historian and geographer of antiquity, but from the accurate modern details of our own countrymen, whose curiosity has explored, and whose pencils have delineated, the stupendous ruins. That city is Palmyra, or Tadmor in the wilderness, founded, as is conjectured, by
Solomon,

Solomon, but certainly by some wise and politic prince, to be the grand magazine of the treasures equally flowing into this emporium from the eastern and the western world. The abundant palms which grow in this secluded spot, the plenty and purity of the water, that, gushing from numerous springs in the neighbourhood, clothed with verdure and fertility a region encircled with frightful rocks and scorching sands, had long made this scite the favourite station of the caravans, which immemorially traversed the desert of Syria, and supported by this route the connecting line of traffic carried on by land between the extremities of Asia. The industrious hand of commerce, *protected, not impeded, by imperial power*, led the pure waters bursting from those springs into vast reservoirs scooped from the marble quarry; built extensive granaries; reared the hospitable caravansera; fortified, and rendered impregnable, the barren rock; and while, in gratitude to God, it swelled the lofty temple to his honour, it repaid regal beneficence, by inshrining it in a superb palace, elevated on columns of porphyry, and internally decorated with a profusion of all those rich commodities, the gold, the silver, the
 silks,

silks, and the porcelain, which were the object of its powerful protection.

To this splendid mart, this phoenix among Eastern cities, from all the adjacent coasts of the Mediterranean, the productions of Spain and of Britain were transported, on the backs of camels, through the surrounding deserts, and from Palmyra to the banks of the Euphrates, little more than sixty miles distant. Here, the commodities intended for the Indian market were put on board vessels provided for the purpose; and, by a less hazardous and circuitous navigation, conveyed down that noble river to the Persian Gulph and the mouths of the Indus. By the same channel were the gems, the spices, the perfumes, and the fine linen of India, together with the silks and porcelain of China, brought back into the heart of Assyria. One part of this immense imported wealth was absorbed in the vortex of the two great capitals of the Assyrian and Persian empires; another part was, by inland caravans, pervading Asia in every direction, distributed among its more western provinces; and the remainder found its way, by the desert of Syria, to the islands of the Mediterranean and the continent of Europe.

At

At length the great and opulent city of Tyre verged towards its decline; and the adventurous band of merchant-kings, her sons, who, though confined themselves within so contracted and sterile a portion of the globe, had contrived to establish colonies in the most fertile regions of the earth, while their innumerable fleets covered the ocean; this race, equally brave and industrious, after repeated and vigorous struggles to preserve their freedom and their commerce, which, being essentially connected, generally flourish and fall together, were compelled to bow the neck first beneath the yoke of the haughty Assyrian monarch, Nebuchadnezzar, who, in reducing them, exhausted the strength of Babylon, and afterwards of the victorious chief of Macedon. The latter of these invaders, irritated by the spirited opposition which he met with, and the accumulated disasters experienced by his army during a seven months siege, and at the same time ardently desirous of turning the whole current of the Phœnician commerce into a Grecian channel, inflicted a more sanguinary vengeance on this brave people than became a generous conqueror; for, having taken the city by storm, he inhumanly massacred ten thousand

thousand Tyrians in cold blood, and, after burning that noble metropolis to the ground, sent the rest of the wretched inhabitants, about thirty thousand in number, into slavery;* a fate, as unmerited on their part, as it was disgraceful in him to inflict it. In their descendants, the Carthaginians, however, the flame of liberty broke forth with undiminished ardour; and among them the spirit of enterprize not only soared with as bold a wing, but accomplished deeds as worthy to be admired and recorded. To that nation our attention must now be necessarily directed in this retrospect on the revolutions of ancient commerce, and the vicissitudes of Eastern empire.

Carthage, the eldest born of Tyre, as Tyre itself was of Sidon, is asserted by Bochart† to have been originally called Carthada, and to have derived its name from Charta, an Oriental word signifying, by way of eminence, THE CITY. The exact æra of its foundation is so remote in time as to have baffled all the researches of the antiquary, and its early history

* Amian, lib.ii. p. 49.

† Bochart Canaan. de Col. Phœn. lib.i. cap. 24.

is too much blended with fable to merit particular notice. In digging for the foundation of the city, the Phœnician settlers found the head of a horse, which was considered as an auspicious omen; and from that event the animal in question became the prevailing symbol on their coins, as well as served to mark the warlike genius of the nation. Some of the numerous coins, stamped with that symbol, anciently found in Britain, may, therefore, possibly have been left here by the Carthaginian merchants, who, devoted to the maritime pursuits of their ancestors, and permitted to partake of their commerce, are known early to have visited the Phœnician settlements in Europe. Carthage, situated upon an extensive peninsula of the African continent, and in about thirty-six degrees of northern latitude, was well calculated to be, what it was first intended for, the emporium of the vast commerce carried on with the internal provinces of Africa for gold, both in solid masses and in dust, for ivory, Æthiopian gems, and many other costly articles of traffic, in which that continent abounded. But gradually extending its views and its dominions, that city, in time, united to the African trade that of
Asia

Aſia and Europe, and not leſs in the magnitude of its marine, as well thoſe veſſels intended for military as thoſe appointed for commercial ſervice, than in the ſplendor of its achievements by land, far ſurpaſſed the renown of its parent. In fact, its views of commerce were only bounded by the limits of the world, while its dominions, in Africa alone, at the breaking out of the third Punic war, according to Strabo,* extended over three hundred cities, ſtretching eaſtward to Cyrenaica, and weſtward quite to the Pillars of Hercules. This great extent of territory gave them a decided advantage over their Phœnician progenitors, ſince their own ample domains afforded them moſt of the productions which they ſent in exchange for the commodities of other countries. Theſe were principally grain, in which Africa was always rich, and fruits of various kinds; honey, palm-wine, olive-oil, and the valuable ſkins of the ſavages that roam the deſerts of Afric: add to theſe, that particular ſpecies of commodity which might be called the ſtaple manufacture both of Tyre and Carthage, conſiſting of cables, anchors,

* Strabonis Geograph. lib. xvii. p. 793.

and all sorts of naval stores, together with the colour called *Φοινικον*, or *Punic*, peculiar to themselves and the country from which they migrated.

Although it is impossible, as was before observed, to fix the precise æra in which Carthage was founded, by a band of emigrated Phœnicians, with Dido, the injured sister of Pygmalion, one of the most celebrated monarchs of Tyre, at their head, yet we know that event must have taken place at a very early period of the parent-empire, since Herodotus* records a celebrated naval engagement, as having happened between the Carthaginians and the Phocæans, in the reign of Cyrus, about five hundred years before Christ; and farther from the same writer we learn, that, in the time of Cambyfes, his son and successor, they must have had a considerable marine, since that monarch, in a meditated expedition against Carthage, considering the whole naval power of Persia as too weak to contend with that of the former state, solicited the aid of the Phœnicians against them, which that nation generously declined, urging in excuse,

* Herodoti Hist. lib. i. p. 77.

that

that they were their descendants.* The Carthaginians were not ungrateful; for, of the produce of their soil, and of the spoils taken in battle, Polybius informs us, a tenth was, in the infancy of that republic, constantly transmitted to the parent-state as offerings to be deposited in the shrine of the Tyrian Hercules, alike the guardian-deity of either city.† Another proof of their early migration arises from the very circumstance, which was the occasion of first introducing them to a knowledge of the coast beyond the Straits of Gades, which, being of importance in this historical detail, shall now be succinctly related from the two authors, who have dwelt more particularly on their affairs, Justin and Diodorus Siculus.

The former expressly asserts that circumstance to be the violent opposition which the Spaniards gave to the Phœnicians, when erecting the city of Gades; so violent, that they were compelled to call in the assistance of the rising colony of Carthage, who, sending thither a numerous fleet and army, not only effec-

* Herodotus, lib. iii. p. 191.

† Polybii Hist. p. 341.

tually seconded their operations, but also secured for themselves a considerable territory of the rich adjoining province of Bætica.* According to a passage which occurs in Sir Isaac Newton, who has entered into extensive chronological discussions relative to these two nations, it should seem that the temple at Gades must have been erected long antecedent to that city; for the gift of Pygmalion, which he mentions, must have been conferred many ages before the Carthaginians could have been in a situation to afford any such powerful succours to the Tyrians, as described by Justin. Possibly a temple sacred to the manes of that conductor, who assumed the name of Hercules, and a few buildings on the shore, for the purpose of mutual traffic and shelter from the weather, might have formed the whole of the settlement; but when, in process of time, those foreigners began to erect spacious buildings, and fortify the island, the jealousy, not less than the avarice, of the Spaniards, might be awakened, and the assault as powerful as the motives that produced it. The passage alluded to in Newton is as follows: “The Phœnicians,”

* Justin, lib. xlv. p. 574.

says that writer, “after the death of Melcartus, built a temple to him in the island Gades, and adorned it with the sculptures of the labours of Hercules, and of his hydra, and the horses, to whom he threw Diomedes, king of the Bistones, in Thrace, to be devoured. In this temple was the golden belt of Teucer, and the golden olive of Pygmalion, bearing smaragdine fruit; and, by these consecrated gifts of Teucer and Pygmalion, you may know that it was built in their days.”* The account of this splendid gift of Pygmalion is in Philostratus, and exhibits a curious proof of the early skill of the Phœnicians in working in metals and gems. Pygmalion sent to the temple of Hercules, standing in the island of Gades, a rich donative, being the figure of an olive-tree, of massive gold, and of most exquisite and curious workmanship; its berries, which were of emerald, bearing a wonderful resemblance to the fruit of that tree.†

The Carthaginians, having once penetrated into Spain, found it too important an acquisition to be relinquished, and therefore follow-

* Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology, p. 37.

† Philostrat. in Vita Apollonii, lib. v. c. 1.

ed up the victory they had gained, to the complete subjection of the maritime provinces on either side of the Straits. In the course of no very extended period, they erected, in a part of the province of *Tarraconensis*, now *Valentia*, on the Mediterranean coast, and on a peninsula jutting far out into the ocean, like that on which old Carthage itself stood, a most noble city, with a spacious port, long the emporium of their wealth in this quarter, which they denominated New Carthage; on the ruins of which stands the modern town of Carthagena. In addition to these valuable conquests by land, their active fleets scoured the ocean in the same line, and obtained possession of all the adjacent islands, on which they built forts and established factories; particularly of those celebrated islands lying nearly opposite the coast of *Valentia*, in the Mediterranean-Sea, called, by the ancients, *Baleares*; but, by the moderns, from their comparative magnitude, *Majorca* and *Minorca*, the *greater* and the *less*. Their continental possessions produced immense quantities of those precious metals, in which their commerce principally consisted, as well as supplied their army with brave and able recruits for fresh conquests: the

islands yielded abundance of honey, corn, and wine, and afforded convenient harbours for the numerous Carthaginian ships which navigated that sea.

The Carthaginians being of the same race, manners, and religion, as the Phœnicians, there are no particular data by which we can ascertain the time of their first trading to the British coast for the commodity in such great request among the traders of the East; we only know from Festus Avienus, an author cited by Bochart, that Himilco, a Carthaginian general, the first of that name, was sent, about the time of Darius Nothus, by the senate of Carthage, to discover the western shores and ports of Europe; that he successfully accomplished that voyage, of which he wrote a journal, which was inserted in the Punic annals, and which the said Festus Avienus had seen; and that, in that journal, the Britannic islands are mentioned by the name of *Æstrymnides*;* islands infested by the *æstrum*, or gad-fly. At the same time that Himilco was sent westward, another general, of the name of Hanno, (of which, probably,

* Bocharti Chanaan, lib. i. cap. 35, 39.

there

there were several, since we meet with one of considerable note at a much later period,) was sent to explore the southern coast of Africa; but he, after making some important discoveries, was compelled to return, from the failure of his provisions. He also wrote an account of his voyage, and a tract, bearing the name of the *Periplus of Hanno*, is yet extant, though of dubious authority. The circumstance of provisions failing him, during this intended circumnavigation of Africa, forms, in my opinion, a very strong objection against the possibility of the voyage round the African coast, said to have been undertaken and accomplished near 600 years before Christ, at the command of Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt, since the ships used by the Phœnicians were not of magnitude sufficient to hold the quantity of provisions necessary for the support of a ship's crew during a three-years voyage; for, in that period, according to Herodotus, it was accomplished.* This question, however, shall be more extensively examined hereafter, when we come to consider the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope.

* Herodot. Hist. lib. iv. p. 240.

The genius of Carthage being more martial than that of Tyre, whose object was rather commerce than conquest, it is not improbable that the former might, by force of arms, have established a settlement in the Cassiterides, and by this means have secured that monopoly of tin, which the Phœnicians and their colonies indubitably enjoyed for several centuries; since, according to the united judgment of the two ablest writers on the Asiatic Antiquities of Britain, Bochart and Camden, the Greeks were not heard of in Britain much above a century and a half before the Christian æra. At all events, it is rational to suppose they appointed Phœnician or Spanish agents to superintend the working of the mines, and secure their produce from the intrusion of strangers. In confirmation of this, a passage in Tacitus may be adduced, in which, describing the Britons as they appeared in his time, he affirms, that the *Silures*, inhabitants of South Britain, or probably of the *Scilly Isles*, were of a swarthy complexion, and had curled hair, like the Spaniards.* Norden, also, in his Antiquities of Cornwall, mentions it as

* Tacitus in Vita Agricolæ, cap. iv.

a tradition universally received by the inhabitants, that their tin-mines were formerly wrought by the Jews. He adds, that these old works are there at this day, called Attal Sarafin; *the ancient cast-off works of the Saracens*, in which their tools are frequently found. Miners are not accustomed to be very accurate in distinguishing traders of foreign nations, and these Jews and Saracens have probably a reference to the old merchants from Spain and Africa: and those employed by them might possibly have been Jews, escaped the horrors of captivity and the desolation which, about that period, befel their country. While I write this, however, I am not ignorant of the general application of this tradition to a later period in the British history, when the mines and their produce were actually farmed out by King John to the Jews, by whom the commerce of this country with Spain and the East was, at that time, principally carried on. It being certain, however, that the Carthaginians traded hither, and so continued to do, for ages, after the destruction of Tyre, let us quit them for a moment, and attend to the new route to India, opened by the bold, but prudent, policy of the Ptolemies, the successors

of the great Alexander in the empire of Egypt.

The expedition of Alexander to India, which, if enabled to proceed in the History of Hindostan upon the extensive scale in which I have engaged in it, it will be my province hereafter to relate in more ample detail than it has yet been done, was an event, as to its consequence upon the commerce and nations of Europe, of far more importance than is generally conceived. Without the knowledge of the internal state of the Panjab, obtained by means of that invasion, and, in particular, by the descent down the Indus; without the incentive of such wealth and power, acquired by so large an addition of territory in the eastern quarter of Asia, by the Greeks, a people situated on its western limits, as was the result of the conquests of Alexander in Persia and India, the nations, inhabiting the shores of the Mediterranean and the Arabian Gulph, would, in all probability, have still been the factors to Europe for the rich productions of the Indian continent. That wealth, a large portion of which centred in the Ptolemies, enabled them to execute the daring projects of their master, whose mind, fired with the hopes of monopolizing

polizing its wealth, formed the judicious plan of enlarging and deepening the port of Patala, at the mouth of the Indus, with intent to make it the emporium of a future commerce with Alexandria; while that power secured to their efforts final success and lasting protection. The Greeks, at first reluctant, like the old Egyptians, to engage in distant excursions by sea, or, at least, advancing by very slow degrees to improvement in the science of navigation, now began to expand more boldly the sail of commerce, to court the winds, and quit the shore. Their frequent and severe engagements with the fleets of Carthage and Rome failed not to extend their naval skill; and the treasures which the new theatre of India displayed drew thither in multitudes the Athenian vessels. Having conquered their Grecian rivals, the Romans eagerly engaged in the same line of commerce, and the decline of that empire opened the way to India for the Venetians and other European states, and thus set in motion that active and restless spirit of adventure and research, which explored, and finally accomplished, the passage by the Cape.

When, in the hope of monopolizing the trade of Tyre, and securing as an asylum for
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the rising fleets of Greece its two deep and spacious bays stretching out on each side of the peninsula, the one looking towards its parent Sidon, the other towards the great mart, Egypt, and serving as a summer and winter harbour for its vast marine, the politic Alexander demolished that ancient city, and inflicted so exemplary a vengeance on its inhabitants, it was his intent only to annihilate it as a Tyrian colony; and, before he left the coast, he rebuilt and repopled it, assuming the flattering title of the *founder of a new Tyre*. Of the new inhabitants, many were Grecian adventurers, and many were collected from the maritime provinces in its neighbourhood, which had viewed its prosperity with a jealous and malignant eye. Still, however, there remained a large portion of the natives, who had, during the siege, transported themselves in ships to Sidon and Carthage, and these, shortly after returning, endeavoured to revive its ancient splendour. Though these efforts were ineffectual in all the extent desired, much of its commerce and its consequence was recovered; for, scarcely twenty years afterwards, Tyre was again become so considerable a city as to resist, for many months,

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the besieging army of Antigonus, one of the generals, among whom the dominions of Alexander were, at his death, partitioned out, engaged in war with Ptolemy, in whose hands it then was, and consequently in a state of dependance on the Greek sovereigns of Alexandria, as it ever after continued. No longer, therefore, could either the Tyrians, or their descendants, the Carthaginians, command the port of Rhinocolura for the transportation of the commodities of the western world to India, because both that port and the passage of the adjoining isthmus were necessarily under the control of the monarch who commanded Egypt and the western districts of the Arabian Gulph.

Alarmed, therefore, at the blow aimed at their very existence by the destruction of Tyre, and at the evident, though not yet declared, intention, of the Macedonian chief to deprive them of their monopoly of the Indian trade, and make it flow in a new channel, the Carthaginians dispatched to that prince, in Egypt, a man, named Hamilcar, of great address and of a penetrating genius, to cultivate his goodwill, and to obtain every information in his power concerning this project, and the probability

bility of carrying it effectually into execution. Hamilcar found the king busied in the vigorous prosecution of his great design; the port of Alexandria already cleansed, enlarged, and defended by a wall, and the city itself, which was intended to render Carthage a desert, on every side rising in beauty and grandeur. The report of the great works carrying on at this future metropolis of Egypt filled the Carthaginians with dismay; and at the same time so incensed them, that, convinced as they were of the entire practicability of concentrating at Alexandria the whole commerce of the eastern and western world, in a transport of rage, they put to death the innocent bearer of this unwelcome intelligence.* No other channel, therefore, for the conveyance of articles of commerce from the western to the eastern world remained to the Carthaginians, besides that before pointed out, through Tadmor and the deserts, to the Euphrates and the Persian Gulph; and, from the convulsed state in which, owing to incessant wars, the Assyrian and Persian empires continued for nearly half a century afterwards,

* Justin Hist. lib. xvi. p. 406, edit. variorum.

even that channel must have been a very precarious and hazardous one. Patient, however, and persevering as the camel that bears her commodities over the burning sands, COMMERCE undauntedly urges her way through opposing difficulties, climbs the steep rock, stems the rapid torrent, nor relaxes its laborious efforts till it gains the dazzling prize, which crowns its labours and rewards its sufferings.

Although the death of Alexander prevented his own accomplishment of the plan which he had formed for making Alexandria the emporium of the trade of the world, Ptolemy Soter, his friend and successor in the kingdom of Egypt, sedulously and incessantly laboured, during a long reign of thirty-nine years, to complete the magnificent project of his master. This first and greatest of that learned and princely line decorated the noble harbour of Alexandria with a marble light-house, so grand and beautiful as to be once esteemed the wonder of the world; and he joined to it the island Pharos, on which it stood, by a stupendous mole, or causeway, carried, for three-quarters of a mile, through the sea. He also erected in it, for the encouragement of science and the accommodation of the learned, a superb

perb structure, which was called the Museum, or Academy, and a library, not less valuable for the beauty of the architecture than for the rarity and number of the volumes it contained, which amounted to 400,000, unfortunately burnt about three centuries after; as was the still greater one begun by Ptolemy Philadelphus, his son, at a more recent period, by the ferocious mandate of the barbarian Omar. The temple of Serapis, the royal palace, the lofty walls flanked with bastions of durable granite, the great canal by which the waters of the Nile were conveyed to the city, and the marble columns that sustained the vaults, (at this day to be seen,) on which the whole city was built, long made Alexandria alike the thronged resort of the merchant and the scholar; and justly entitled it to the distinguished appellations of Queen of the East, and the Metropolis of the World.

Ptolemy Soter died at the advanced age of eighty-four, and was succeeded by a son not less ardently desirous to fulfil the intentions of his wise father, than to perfect the extensive plans of the ambitious Alexander. The perpetual conflicts, by land, in which that father was engaged with the other competitors for the

the divided empire of their master, during the early part of his reign, had prevented his giving all that attention to his marine, though that marine was far from contemptible, which appeared necessary to support the pretensions of a power aspiring to give law on the ocean, and make the commerce of distant nations subservient to its own aggrandizement. Alexander had foreseen that this could never be effected while Tyre and Carthage were permitted to retain such a numerous fleet in the Mediterranean; and, therefore, after ruining the Phœnicians of Tyre, he had formed designs for the speedy destruction of those of Carthage also. Among his papers were found memoranda of certain grand projects, which, if he had lived, it was his intention to have executed; and, first of these, as the basis of his future scheme of greatness, was recorded his resolution to build a thousand stout gallies, to reduce the Carthaginians and other maritime nations, who might be inclined to oppose the progress of his arms in an intended conquest of all the sea-coasts of Africa and Spain, lying on the Mediterranean; along the whole line of which the next memorandum stated his intention to carry a broad and regular high road,

road, as far as Ceuta and Tangier, for the convenience of commerce, and more easy communication between his land and sea forces; while a third proposed the erecting of forts, establishing arsenals, and forming havens, docks, and yards, for building and repairing ships, at proper distances, throughout his dominions. This scheme, carried into execution, must have annihilated the power of Carthage; and the whole project serves decisively to mark the judicious policy and comprehensive grasp of the mind that formed it.

To fill up these grand outlines, as far as lay in his power, and with a view to make the trade of Europe and Asia centre in the new capital of Alexandria, early in his reign, Philadelphus undertook to cut a new canal one hundred cubits in breadth, and thirty in depth, between Arfinoe, situated on the most southern extremity of the Red-Sea, near the site of the modern Suez, and the Pelusian branch of the Nile. A similar intention of uniting the Red-Sea and the Nile formed a part of the ambitious projects for aggrandizing and enriching his nation of a far more ancient sovereign of Egypt, Pharaoh Necho, in which; however, he was violently opposed by the
whole

whole order of the priesthood. For those sages were not only induced, by their theology, to dread the defilement of their sacred river by the waters of the Erythræan Ocean, but, from their geographical knowledge, were filled with alarm, lest the whole country of Egypt, towards the Mediterranean, should be overwhelmed and turned into a stagnant lake, by the irruption of the former sea, which they conceived to roll on a more elevated bed. Necho, however, persevered in spite of all their remonstrances, till seven years ineffectual toil, and the loss of 100,000 men, in that attempt, proved the impracticability of it. It remained in this unfinished state till the reign of Darius, of the Persian dynasty of Egyptian kings, who ordered it to be completed, but did not live to accomplish it; a task left for the superior vigour and industry of Philadelphus. Notwithstanding it is said, by Strabo,* to have been sufficiently broad for two vessels, of three ranks of oars, to sail a-breast on it; to have had a commodious lock for keeping up the water to a proper height; and the length of it to be only an easy navigation of four

* Vide Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 753.

days ; for some reason or other the canal came into disuse, and this vast labour and expense of cutting through the isthmus of Suez were thrown away, since, in the time of Cleopatra, who, on the point of losing life and empire, would have gladly fled by this cut into the Arabian Gulph, it was found to be utterly impassable even by light galleys. The labour of so many sovereigns to complete this vast undertaking, has occasioned the canal itself to be called by geographers, and designated in our maps, THE CANAL OF THE KINGS.

Failing in this magnificent project, and still resolved, if possible, to fix for ever to Alexandria the lucrative trade now vigorously carrying on between Egypt, the two Arabias, and India, Ptolemy Philadelphus immediately embarked in two other important and successful undertakings; the one was the building of a more powerful fleet than Egypt had ever yet been mistress of, and the other the opening a new road of communication from the Nile, directly across the desert to a part of the Red Sea, whence ships might pass, by a safe and short navigation, to the mouth of the Gulph. For the numerous rocks and shoals that abound in the upper, or northern,
part

part of that dangerous sea, added to the tempestuous and variable winds that agitate its surface, have, from the earliest periods, filled the bosom of the mariner with terror and alarms: as he descended down the Gulph, danger and death seemed to encompass him on every side; it contained no friendly port to shelter him from the storm, nor was a pilot within call to whom he might with safety trust the direction of his bark; on one hand he saw the perfidious Arab, and on the other the savage Æthiop; the former impatient for his treasures; the latter athirst for his blood.

With the multiplied dangers of this navigation, the nautical skill, the long experience, and the daring intrepidity, that marked all the maritime enterprizes of the Phœnicians, were alone equal to contend, and it was in consequence of this that they were so long in possession of the advantageous traffic carried on by this route to the coasts of the Happy Arabia and India, exclusively of all other nations of the west. To remove this obstacle to an open commerce between Europe and Asia, as well as to secure a deep, safe, and commodious, port, so greatly wanted on its western shore, were objects that long occupied the

thoughts of this able prince, and it was the result of the most deliberate caution, as well as the profoundest policy, that he at length resolved on opening this new road of communication, not in a part of Egypt where the passage between the Red Sea and the Nile was shortest, for, in some places, the breadth scarcely exceeds one hundred miles, which, in particular, is about the distance between the modern town of Kene, on the Nile, and the port of Cossier, the present route of the caravans, but where a safe, though circuitous, journey, by land, superseded the necessity of a perilous navigation on a stormy sea. By consulting a map of Egypt, the reader will observe, that the Nile, after leaving the cataracts, bends its course towards Lybia, in the same direction with the mountains; but, repelled by that eternal barrier, it soon after takes an easterly course, and approaches towards the Arabian Gulph. Near its banks in this quarter, on an eminence, stood the ancient city of Coptos, distant from Alexandria three hundred and three miles; and on this city, which though not situated immediately upon the shore of that river, communicated with it by a canal of such considerable breadth and depth,

as to bear vessels of the largest burthen then in use, Ptolemy fixed as a central inland emporium between the last-named city and another which he built on the coast of the Red Sea, nearly under the tropic, and named after his mother, Berenice. This city was erected on the side of a promontory, which there shoots out into the Gulph, and in a situation far advanced towards its mouth, so that neither peril nor delay attended the passage of vessels bound thither from this port. It was connected with a spacious haven, protected by that promontory, where a numerous fleet might safely ride at anchor, and its founder spared neither labour nor treasure to make it the grand emporium of all the trade carried on, on that side of his dominion, with India, Persia, and Arabia; a trade so long enjoyed, and productive of such unbounded wealth to the adventurous race of Tyre and Carthage. Its capacious port, its noble caravanseras for the accommodation of foreigners of every nation, the spacious structures intended as magazines of the richest manufactures of the East, the immunities which the merchant enjoyed, and the powerful arm that protected his property, led to Berenice traders from the re-

most parts of the southern and Asiatic continents. The Sabæan Arabians brought thither spices, frankincense, and the richest drugs; the swarthy Æthiopian, gold, ebony, and ivory; the luxurious Persian, silks, brocades, and carpets; the hardy Tartar brought down the Indus from his native mountains Thibetian musk, Siberian rhubarb, and the choicest ermines; and the delicate Indian, cotton, aromatics, and gems. Its crowded exchange exhibited, in one vast assemblage, all the various nations; and its glittering bazar, in one grand display, all the taste, genius, and splendor, of the Oriental world.

A considerable portion of that species of commerce, which was peculiar to the tropical regions of Asia, commenced and terminated here, and the merchants, paying the moderate duties of the port, retired, with the articles for which they had bartered their country wares, to their respective homes. Those, who came for European commodities, waited the arrival of the caravans from Coptos, which city was distant from Berenice, according to Pliny, two hundred and fifty-eight miles across the desert of Thebais. As this writer and Strabo have given us so particular an account of the mode
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and the exact route by which this new commerce was carried on, I have little more to do in this part than to present the reader with a correct translation of those writers, writers well known indeed, and often copied, but without the addition of whose valuable relations this Dissertation would not be complete.

Strabo, who flourished in the reign of Tiberius, when this commerce was in its vigour, speaking of Coptos, says, " This city is inhabited partly by Egyptians and partly by Arabians. Ptolemy Philadelphus was the first Egyptian prince who, with his army, made a road between this city and Berenice, across the great desert without water, throughout the whole course of which he erected, at proper intervals, caravan-seras, with every necessary accommodation, as well for travellers on foot as on camels. The danger attending the navigation of the northern extremities of the Red Sea was the occasion of this arduous undertaking, the benefits resulting from which to commerce fully demonstrate the utility of the project. The productions of Arabia, India, and Æthiopia, were, soon after its completion, transported, by the way of the Arabian

Gulph, to Coptos, and this city still remains the emporium of the merchants of the East. They no longer unlade their vessels at Berenice, where the road is grown shallow and unsafe, but at the port of Mias Hormus, which is not very remote, and where a fleet of observation is constantly kept. It was formerly the custom to travel this district on camels by night, (on account of the scorching heat, from its lying so near the line,) at which time, (that is, previously, I presume, to the opening this new commodious road by Ptolemy,) travellers directed their course over the desert, like mariners, by observing the stars; they were also compelled to take with them provision and water sufficient for six or seven days journey; at present they are supplied with water from deep wells and cisterns, excavated for the purpose. There are mines of emeralds and other precious stones dispersed in the isthmus which they traverse, for which the Arabians industriously search."*

In the above account of Strabo, there are two or three mistakes which excite our surprise in a writer of his usual correctness, and

* Strabonis Geograph. lib. xvii. p. 472. edit. Steph.

with his opportunities of deriving, from authentic sources, a knowledge of all the circumstances respecting this trade then entirely in the hands of the Romans. For, in the first place, Mias Hormus, or *the Port of the Mouse*, in all the ancient maps of the Arabian Gulph which I have seen, is placed fifty leagues farther north than Berenice, and very near the site of the modern port of COSSIER, an Arabic word, signifying *small*, and therefore well adapted to designate that port, but either denomination extremely ill calculated to give us an idea of the grand and spacious harbour necessarily attached to one of the noblest emporia of the East; possibly, however, there might be two ports of that name. In the second place, the deep wells and cisterns, alluded to by Strabo in this route, were not necessary, since we know, from other respectable writers of antiquity, that the same army of Ptolemy Philadelphus, whose useful labours formed the road from Coptos through the desert to Berenice, scooped also close by the side of it, where practicable, and never at a remote distance from it, a canal in which the waters of the Nile, conveyed through the whole extent of that journey, afforded to the ardent

thirst

thirst of a caravan, fainting under the fiery beam of a vertical sun, the luxury of its refreshing waters; a canal which possessed the farther advantage, that on the banks of it, at proper distances, were erected villages and convenient inns for the accommodation of the merchants who passed by that route to and from India. In the third place, Strabo states the time of performing this journey to be seven days, whereas, according to the most expeditious rate, after which the loaded camel moves, that is, about twenty miles a day, or rather night, in these tropical regions in which journies are invariably suspended when the sun is advanced in the horizon, a tract, extending two hundred and sixty miles, could not be travelled over in less than twelve days. To solve the first difficulty, we must suppose that the original road made by Ptolemy having ceased, in the time of Strabo, to be the great road of communication between Coptos and the Arabian Gulph, from the caravans preferring the shorter route from Coptos to Cossier, in this circumstance the mistake, in all probability, originated: of the second, it is difficult to find any solution, unless the canal asserted to have been dug by the side of this new road be mistaken

taken

taken for that cut by Philadelphus, between Suez and Cairo: the third mistake is rectified by Pliny, who states the journey to be actually performed in the space of twelve days.*

This last writer is indeed so extremely minute in describing the route by which the trade from Rome was carried on through Egypt to India, that, in a work of this kind, it would be unpardonable to omit the recapitulation of that narrative. After declaring that the Romans in his time annually sent a European fleet to India, containing commodities and bullion to the amount of fifty millions of sesterces, (somewhat more than four hundred thousand pounds of our money,) and that the profits on the articles thus exported, after all the vast expenses of so long a voyage were defrayed, returned those merchant-adventurers, in the Roman market, a profit of cent per cent, he gives the following detail:

The cargo of this annual fleet, originally instituted by Augustus, the conqueror of Egypt, being arrived at Alexandria, was conveyed thence to Juliopolis, two miles distant; there it was embarked on the Nile, and carried

* Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 23.

up that river to Coptos, distant three hundred and three miles. If the Etesian winds blew favourably, this voyage was generally performed in twelve days. At Coptos the vessels were unloaded, and the goods transported on the backs of camels, in twelve days, to Berenice, at the distance of two hundred and fifty-eight miles, where they remained in warehouses till the proper season of the year for continuing the voyage, which was about the rising of the dog-star, or Midsummer. When the goods were embarked for the last time, the vessels steered directly for the Arabian coast, and in thirty days arrived at Ocelis, the modern port of Gella, at the mouth of the Arabian Gulph. Sometimes the fleet steered to Cane, called by the moderns Cape Fartaque, and belonging to Saba, the country of incense; and sometimes to Merza, another port of Arabia Felix, but principally frequented by the merchants of the country with whom they trafficked for Arabian frankincense, drugs, and spices, and gave them in exchange arms, knives, and toys, of various kinds. Thence they pursue their voyage, and in forty days reach Musiris, the first mart of consequence in India. The port of Musiris, however, the modern Meerzaw, is described,

scribed, by Pliny, as inaccessible to ships of any considerable burthen, and the neighbourhood of it as greatly infested by pirates. Of Barace, or Barcelore, he speaks in terms of more praise; and specifies a great inland town of the name of Madusa, to which modern geographers have found none in modern India immediately correspondent; though in his Ctona, or the region so abundant in the production of pepper, we immediately recognize Cotonara on that coast, a district still celebrated for the same commodity. This little digression of our author is closed with an account of the time of the return of the Roman fleet from India, which, he informs us, was either in the beginning of the month of December, answering to the month Thibi of the Egyptians, or, at farthest, before the sixth day of the Egyptian month Mechiris, that is, before the ides of January; and then, pursuing the same route back again, they reach Alexandria in three months, and arrive in Italy about the end of a complete year from their first setting out. The several places that lay in the route from Alexandria to India, and their distances from each other, when the journey was performed
by

by land, may be summarily and usefully exhibited in the following table:

	<i>Miles.</i>	<i>Days.</i>
From Alexandria to Juliopolis	2	
From Juliopolis to Coptos	303	12
From Coptos to Berenice, over the deserts	258	12
The voyage from Berenice to Ocelis required		30
From Ocelis to Mufiris	—	40
Length of the journey across Egypt . .	563 <i>Miles.</i>	—
Time of the whole voyage to India . .		94 <i>Days.</i>

In addition to this correct statement, Pliny subjoins, that, on their first sailing from India, they have the benefit of the north-east wind, Vulturnus; and that, when they enter the Arabian Gulph, a south or south-west wind carries them on to Berenice. We may reasonably infer from this account, that the mariners, navigating the Erythræan and Indian oceans, must have had some knowledge of the trade-winds, before Hippalus, of whom I shall speak presently, ventured to quit the tardy and timid navigation by the coast of Arabia and Persia, and boldly launching on the wide ocean, found a new and rapid path to India by the aid of the wind, on which grateful posterity afterwards conferred his name.*

* Plini Nat. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 23, ubi supra.

To secure this new commerce from the depredations of the Arabian pirates, that, in all ages, infested the coast of the Red Sea, Philadelphus constantly kept a large fleet stationed in that part of the Gulph which was nearest to Berenice; while, in the Mediterranean, a fleet of still superior magnitude was ever ready to protect from insult the port of Alexandria, and the trade of the West, now beginning to centre in that magnificent metropolis. Of the number of vessels employed on the former station, we meet in ancient classical writers with no regular detail; but, of those employed in the Mediterranean, we find a very exact list in Strabo, and, according to him, it consisted of two ships of thirty oars on a side, one of twenty, four of fourteen, two of twelve, fourteen of eleven, thirty of nine, thirty-seven of seven, five of six, seventeen of five, and, besides these, of an incredible number of vessels with four oars and three oars on a side. With these fleets he not only maintained and protected the Indian trade, through Egypt, but also kept in subjection, during his whole life, most of the maritime provinces of Asia Minor, viz. Cilicia, Pamphilia, Lycia, Caria, and the Cyclades.

Cyclades.* It was not only on the Arabian Gulph and its neighbourhood, that this politic monarch erected cities and established ports : with a view, perhaps, entirely to ruin the remaining trade of Tyre, he built lower down the Mediterranean, on the coast of Palestine, and in the vicinity of Tyre, a new and splendid city, which he called, after his own name, PTOLEMAIS, and adorned it with a spacious haven, that for several centuries continued a celebrated emporium, and furnished Syria and all the adjoining region of Asia with the commodities of Europe. Ptolemais lay on the west side of Palestine ; but, to secure every channel by which the productions of the western world might find a passage to the Higher Asia and to India, he likewise erected, on the eastern verge of Palestine, another city, long of considerable note in those parts, which, after his surname, he denominated Philadelphia. Thus was Ptolemy in complete possession of the two great avenues of Eastern commerce, that of the caravans over land, carried on through Palmyra, by the permission

* Strabonis Geograph. lib. xvii. p. 805 ; and also Athenæus, lib. v. p. 203.

of the Seleucidæ, to the Euphrates and the Persian Gulph, which was then chiefly made use of by the Carthaginians, who beheld with secret anguish the success of the new route by Alexandria, and in consequence refrained from it; and that through the heart of his own dominions, by way of Coptos and Berenice, principally used by their rising rivals of the Grecian states. Commercial projects of this vast extent by sea and land demanded fleets and armies as proportionably powerful to protect and mature them; and, in consequence, we are assured, by ancient classical writers, that the whole number of ships of war which formed the navy of Egypt, in his reign, amounted to fifteen hundred, with a thousand transport-vessels to attend them; while the army constantly maintained by that prince, consisted of three hundred thousand foot, twenty thousand horse, two thousand armed chariots, and three hundred elephants.

Of these arduous and magnificent undertakings of the Ptolemies the reward was both splendid and ample; and their capital in time became, as it were, the treasure-house of the whole world, of which I shall, in a subsequent discourse on the immense quantity of gold and

silver possessed by the ancient monarchs of Asia, especially of India, present the reader, among others, with two striking proofs, related at considerable detail. The first of these is the astonishing display of gold, silver, and precious stones, recorded by Athenæus to have been exhibited at Alexandria, by Ptolemy Soter, two years before his death, on the occasion of his associating with himself in the imperial dignity his son Philadelphus; and the other is the vast accumulated wealth, in coined money and bullion, of which the latter, at the close of a long and prosperous reign, died possessed. For the present, to bring to a conclusion these extended strictures on the trade maintained with Britain on the one hand, and India on the other, by the Carthaginians, we have only to subjoin, that, after bravely struggling for nearly three hundred years to preserve their liberty and their commerce against the incroachments of the Romans, their empire was entirely subdued, and at length, in the year before Christ 146,* its stately and beautiful metropolis was, by the renowned Scipio Æmilianus, burned to ashes. But before the Romans

* Appian in *Punicis*, p. 85.

could engross to themselves any considerable portion of the valuable trade carried on through Egypt to India, another power, which, under the protecting wing of the Ptolemies, had risen to an uncommon height of maritime glory, was likewise to be subdued, and this was the republic of Athens, whose fleets now swarmed in the Indian seas, and wafted into the ports of the distant Euxine the rich commodities of the Ganges.

THE FLOURISHING COMMERCE OF INDIA, IN
THE REMOTEST PERIODS, PROVED FROM
THE INSTITUTES OF MENU.

PREVIOUSLY, however, to our taking a survey of the naval concerns of the Greeks with Hindostan and Britain, we ought to consider in a more particular manner than we already have, the progress made by the Indians themselves in navigation, whom the number and magnitude of their rivers, added to their vast inland commerce, must have made very early expert in that science. The best guide we can take with us during this retrospect upon the ancient commercial transactions of

India, as well on the continent as by sea, is the book so often mentioned before, the Institutes of Menu, the date of which, in an introductory discourse, Sir William Jones has fixed, by astronomical observations, to about the twelfth century before Christ, and in that book we find numerous rules laid down, and cases adjudged, that probably refer to many centuries preceding even that remote period. The two following stanzas of chapter the eighth, ON JUDICATURE, AND THE DUTY OF KINGS, will demonstrate in how important a light the great legislator of India considered the commerce of that empire, and how minute and unwearied ought to be the attention paid to it by its sovereign. The translation, it should be remembered, is, throughout, strictly and scrupulously verbal, so that the reader cannot fail of being in possession of the genuine meaning of Menu, and it may be added, that never before did any editor contrive to give to a verbal translation not only such perspicuity but such unexampled elegance.

“ With vigilant care should the king exert himself in compelling *merchants* and *mechanics* to perform their respective duties ; for, when such men swerve from their duty, they throw
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the world (that is, a great commercial empire) into confusion." Institutes, p. 243.

" Day by day must the king, though engaged in forensic business, consider the great object of public measures, and inquire into the state of his carriages, elephants, horses, and cars, his constant revenues and necessary expenses, *his mines of precious metals, or gems*, (a proof that the Indian sovereign had such mines,) and his treasury." Ibid.

In truth, the Indian sovereigns had no small stimulus to attend to their duty in thus inspecting commercial concerns; for their profits are said, in another place, to have been a *twentieth* part of the profit of every thing sold. The toll-gates, for the passage internally of caravans of merchandize, seem to have been numerous in those early times, and the duty collected with the utmost strictness; for, by the 400th article of that chapter of the code, it is enacted, that

" Any buyer or seller, who fraudulently passes by the toll-office at night, or any other improper time, or who makes a false enumeration of the articles bought, shall be fined *eight times as much as their value*." P. 240.

“ Let the king establish rules for the sale and purchase of all marketable things, having duly considered whence they come, IF IMPORTED; and, IF EXPORTED, whither they must be sent; how long they have been kept; what may be gained by them; and what has been expended on them.” Ibid.

“ Once in five nights, or, at least, every fortnight, according to the nature of the commodities, (that is, whether they will keep or not,) let the king make a regulation for market-prices in the presence of experienced men:” and this seems to have been the general practice of Eastern sovereigns, for Pliny tells us, that, at Ocelis, on the coast of Arabia, the great mart, whither the Indian and Egyptian fleets annually sailed to barter the commodities peculiar to their country for the myrrh and frankincense of Arabia; the king of that country also fixed the price of all the articles sold at that emporium, whether imported or exported; and he mentions, in proof of this assertion, that, in consequence of the high duties imposed on cinnamon at that port, that precious commodity rose to such a high price at Rome, that a pound of it sold for one thousand

sand sesterces, or about eight pounds sterling.*

“ Let all *weights* and *measures* be well ascertained by him ; and, once in six months, let him re-examine them.” P. 241.

These passages afford irrefragable evidence of the very rigid attention anciently paid to the trading concerns of India, and the tract itself, being of such high antiquity, must prove very interesting to the commercial reader. The toll-prices at the different ferries on the Indian rivers are then stated with equally minute precision.

“ The toll at a ferry is one pana for an empty cart ; half a pana, for a man with a load ; a quarter, for a beast used in agriculture, or for a woman ; and an eighth, for an unloaded man.” Ibid.

“ Waggon, filled with goods packed up, shall pay toll in proportion to their value ; but for empty vessels and bags, and for poor men ill-apparelled, a very small toll shall be demanded.” Ibid.

In the following article respecting *freightage*, there is a most remarkable passage, which

* Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. xii. cap. 19.

greatly arrested the attention of the translator, since it decidedly proves that 1200, if not 1500, years before Christ, the Indians, not less than the Phœnicians, navigated the vast ocean. It is as follows :

“ For a long passage, the freight must be proportioned to places and time; but this must be understood of passages up and down rivers: AT SEA THERE CAN BE NO SETTLED FREIGHT.” ‘ Ibid.

“ Whatever shall be broken in a boat, by the fault of the boatmen, shall be made good by those men collectively, each paying his portion.” Ibid.

“ This rule, ordained for such as pass rivers in boats, relates to the culpable neglect of boatmen on the water ; in the case of inevitable accident, there can be no damages recovered.” Ibid.

It is not, however, only the freightage necessary to be paid for carriage of goods by sea that is thus particularized, for, in another place, we find a law relating to the interest which the merchant was, by mutual agreement, bound to pay for the commodity exported.

“ Whatever interest, or price of the risk, shall be settled between the parties by men

WELL

WELL ACQUAINTED WITH SEA-VOYAGES, OR journies by land, with times and with places, such interest shall have legal force." P. 210.

If the reader should be anxious to know what were the articles bartered in this traffic, I answer whatsoever a great, flourishing, and established, empire could produce, and many which it did not produce; as gold, silver, lead, copper, and TIN; articles of commerce which they seem to have possessed immemorially, and in great abundance, when the rest of the world was but very scantily supplied with them. As to precious gems, diamonds, rubies, and pearls, they were the native growth of their own rich country; the first came from the mines of Soumelpore, on the Adamas river; the second from those of Pegu; the third from the celebrated fisheries on the shores of the Peninsula and Ceylone. The same luxuriant and fertile soil also produced to the Indians sandal, cinnamon, saffron, and all the other rich and odoriferous woods that grow in the fragrant forests and gardens of Asia, though not in the unbounded plenty in which they required them for various uses, sacred and civil; for the magnificent temple, and the splendid palace.

Many

Many of these latter, therefore, were constantly imported from Arabia to cherish the never-dying fires that blazed on the altars of their deities; for only the most costly aromatics, inflamed by a profusion of rich gums and clarified butter, are there allotted to feed the sacrificial flame. Medicinal drugs, also, of the most powerful efficacy, and perfumes of the rarest kind, were the spontaneous gift of their prolific soil. In cassia, bezoar, benzoin, storax, gum-lac, they immemorially drove a flourishing trade; and the aloes, the musk, the spikenard, the civet, and the camphire, of India, are still unrivalled. The commerce for the former was principally carried on through the Northern soobah of Cabul, a region ever famous for its aromas and the rich botanical stores of every species which its delicious climate produces, and in which, independent of its general commerce, it maintained an extensive provincial traffic with Persia: the latter were, in general, the productions of the warm southern provinces and the Peninsula, whence they were as abundantly exported to the West.

If, turning over the pages of the same volume, we examine the mechanical arts and
infinite

infinite manufactures of this ancient nation, we find them engraving on the hardest stones, and working in the most difficult metals; giving the most beautiful polish to the diamond, an art supposed not to be known till the 15th century; inchasing in gold, and working in ivory and ebony, with inimitable elegance. In weaving, spinning, and dying; in all the more ingenious devices appertaining to the respective occupations of the joiner, the cutler, the mason, the potter, and the janner; in executing the most curious cabinet and filligree work; in drawing birds, flowers, and fruits, from the book of nature with exquisite precision; in painting those beautiful chintzes annually brought into Europe, that glow with such a rich variety of colours, as brilliant as they are lasting; in the fabrication of those ornamental vases of agate and chrystal, inlaid with the richest gems, that constitute so large a portion of the splendid merchandize of India with the neighbouring empires of Asia; in short, in whatever requires an ingenious head or a ductile hand, what people on earth, in those remote or in these modern times, has ever vied with the Indians?

What

What polished nation is not, or has not been, indebted to the loom of India, and the labours of the Indian mechanic, for the choicest rarities of household-furniture, and apparel of the finest and most splendid texture?—Her rich calicoes, plain or flowered, applied to a thousand domestic and personal uses both in Europe and Asia;—her gold and silver brocades;*—and her carpets and tapestry ever superior to all others, if not in the design, at least in the dazzling lustre of the colours, are abundant proofs of these assertions. Who has not heard of the shawls of Cashmere, of the fine veils, sumptuous vests, and gaudy sashes, made in India, and of the exquisite fineness of their muslins, especially of those curious robes, of this delicate manufacture, appropriated to the use of the sultanas of the court of Delhi, while Delhi had a court; woven with such elegance, that the whole

* Although the use of East-India *wrought silk* is now prohibited for the wise purpose of encouraging our own manufactures in that line, yet how great and general was the consumption, previous to that prohibition, of this commodity, may be learned from what is recorded in Pottlethwayte on this article, relative to the cargo of the Tavistock, which brought 9000 pieces of damask only, independent of other sorts of wrought silk, each of which being worth at market 9 *l.* or more, the damask only amounted to near 90,000 *l.*

dress might be drawn through a small ring, and, when spread on the grass, on account of the minuteness of the threads, were scarcely visible to the eye? To what European nation has not the loud thunder of the British navy proclaimed the excellence of the salt-petre of Bengal; and what Asiatic army has not had its fury in battle increased by the inspiring fumes of its opium, not exceeded by the best produced in Egypt? How would the table of luxury have been spread, not only in our times, but in those of Greece and Rome, had it not been for the aid which culinary skill has received from the pepper, the nutmegs, the cloves, the ginger, the mace, the cinnamon, of the tropical regions of India. Add to this, their rich sweetmeats and preserves of all kinds, their fruits dried or green, the anana, the mango, and many others, of such exquisite flavour and poignancy, that the appetite ranges among their endless variety without danger of being satiated or disgusted.

In respect to the various articles of which their thriving domestic commerce principally consisted, they in a particular manner marked the native ingenuity and taste of a people, one order of whom are entirely devoted, from their infancy,

infancy, to mechanical employ and manual labour, and those articles were, at once, elegant in fabrication and infinite in number. Among these may be reckoned curious baskets made of those flexible reeds, with which the banks of their rivers and marshy grounds abound in wonderful variety; various species of beautiful pottery of the more elegant kind, and some even scented; an infinite assortment of costly toys, fabricated of ivory, and what we call mother-of-pearl; light screens richly gilded, and painted with the most vivid colours; fans and umbrellas formed of the beautiful feathers of the numerous tropical birds that flutter in their forests and carol in their groves; musical instruments adapted to every species of melody, martial or festive, solemn or plaintive, from the dreadful resonance of the tom-tom to the sprightly air of the vena and tambour: in these, and a thousand other minuter articles, which it would be tedious to enumerate in this place, the Indians, in periods to which European chronology scarcely ascends, carried on, and still maintain, an extensive and vigorous traffic.

But lest I should be thought to have exaggerated matters in this account of the varied
and

and extensive trade of ancient India, I shall now descend to some particular statements and extracts from the volume, cited before, which will fully prove the truth of the preceding assertions. I shall, also, for the convenience of the reader, continue to be precisely accurate in referring to the pages which I cite, and shall begin with mentioning two or three articles on which I shall have occasion to discourse more at large hereafter, when discussing certain parts of the trade of India with Britain in modern periods. The first of these is

S U G A R.

THAT the ancient Indians, at this remote æra, were accustomed not only to extract sugar from the cane, which anciently grew and still grows in luxuriant abundance in their country, and was, probably, thence transported into our West-India settlements; but also knew how to draw from the melasses an ardent spirit, like the liquor which we call RUM, is evident from the following passage in these Institutes, page 320, where it is said, “ Inebriating liquor may be considered as
of

of three principal sorts; that extra
DREGS OF SUGAR, that extracted from
rice, and that extracted from the
the Madhuca: as one, so are all; and
not be tasted by the chief of the
born;" that is, the Brahmin, who
ing to the received notion of prae-
in India, is supposed to be a second time
when he enters on his earthly career.

In this passage we find the exact
or, perhaps, the origin, of that ancient
cept of the Egyptian code, that they
should refrain from tasting wine and
liquors; and the reason afterwards
for this strict prohibition, at least in
left, when in a state of intoxication, he
pronounce some secret phrase of the
Veda. The next are

INDIGO AND DYED COTTON

THAT the merchants of India, also,
early period, drove a traffic in Indigo
tain, since, in the same book, when
is enumerating the species of commodities
which it is lawful for a distressed Brahmin

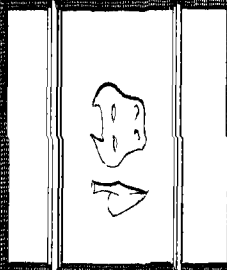
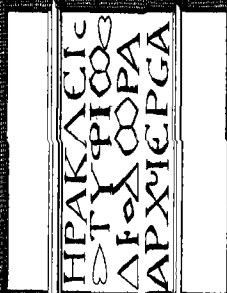
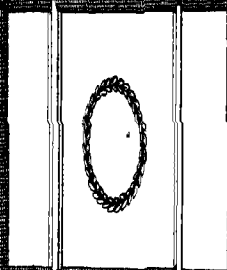
of three principal sorts ; that extracted from DREGS OF SUGAR, that extracted from bruised rice, and that extracted from the flowers of the Madhuca : as one, so are all ; they shall not be tasted by the chief of the twice-born ;” that is, the Brahmin, who, according to the received notion of præ-existence in India, is supposed to be a second time born, when he enters on his earthly career.

In this passage we find the exact parallel, or, perhaps, the origin, of that ancient precept of the Egyptian code, that the priest should refrain from tasting wine and spirituous liquors ; and the reason afterwards assigned for this strict prohibition, at least in India, is, lest, when in a state of intoxication, he should pronounce some secret phrase of the mysterious Veda. The next are

INDIGO AND DYED COTTONS.

THAT the merchants of India, also, in that early period, drove a traffic in Indigo is certain, since, in the same book, when Menu is enumerating the species of commodity in which it is lawful for a distressed Brahmin to deal,

COINS bearing the SYMBOLS of the PHOENICIAN RITES.



With an ALTAR erected in BRITAIN to the TYRIAN HERCULES.
 To John Calkley, Esq., M.D., F.R.S., and F.S.A. this Altar, emblematic of the most ancient
 superstition of Asia, is gratefully inscribed by J. C. M.

merce of the two nations. The immemorial custom established in India, of women sacrificing themselves to the manes of their deceased husbands, may be discovered in the conduct of Dido, wife of Pygmalion, king of Tyre, who, rather than devote herself to the embraces of a second husband, publicly ascended the funeral pile.

Besides the above-mentioned articles, forbidden the Brahmin, it was unlawful for him to deal in “ gems, salt, cattle, human slaves,” (that ancient but disgraceful traffic!) “ medicinal drugs,” and, among others, the baneful classes of poisonous herbs; (for the old Indians seem to have been well skilled in poisons;) he was forbidden to sell “ iron, honey, wax, perfumes, SUGAR, NILI OR INDIGO, and lac.”
P. 300.

PRECIOUS STONES, PEARLS, METALS, IVORY, &c. &c.

THE above list of prohibited articles from so authentic a source is extremely important in an investigation concerning the commerce of a country in such very remote æras. But
in

in another passage, on the purification of articles used at that time in diet and in dress, we are still farther introduced to a knowledge of their great advance in arts and manufactures; for, as to their sciences, they will become an article of separate consideration hereafter, while the curious enumeration of their superstitious customs, as to clothing and diet, will not fail to excite wonder and gratify curiosity. With respect to utensils used in diet, it is observed,

“ Of brilliant metals, of gems, and of every thing made with stone, (as pots or vases,) the purification ordained by the wise is with ashes, water, and earth.” P. 137.

“ A golden vessel, not smeared, is cleansed with water only; and every thing produced in water, as coral-shells or pearls, and every stony substance, and a silver vessel, not enchafed.” Ibid.

“ From a junction of water and fire arose gold and silver; and they two, therefore, are best purified by the elements whence they sprang.” Ibid.

“ Vessels of copper, iron, brass, PEWTER, TIN, and LEAD, may be fitly cleansed with ashes, with acids, or with water.” Ibid.

“ The purification ordained for all sorts of liquids, is by stirring them with cusa-grafs; for clothes folded, by sprinkling them with hallowed water; for wooden utensils, by planing them.” Ibid.

“ For the sacrificial pots to hold clarified butter and juice of the moon-plant, by rubbing them with the hand, and washing them, at the time of sacrifice.” P. 138.

“ Leathern utensils, and such as are made with cane, must necessarily be purified in the same manner with clothes; green vegetables, roots, and fruit, in the same manner with grain.” Ibid.

“ Silk and woollen stuff, with saline earths; blankets from Nepaul, with pounded *arishtas*, or *nimba*-fruit; vests and long drawers, with the fruit of the bilva; mantles of *cfhuma*, with white mustard-seeds.” Ibid.

“ Utensils made of shells or of horn, of bones or of ivory, must be cleansed by him who knows the law, as mantles of *cfhuma* are purified.” Ibid.

In page 261, we find punishments ordained
 “ for mixing impure with pure commodities,
 for piercing fine gems, as diamonds or rubies,
 and

and for boring pearls or inferior gems *improperly*."

How severely indeed they punished fraud in traffic, and with what jealous vigilance the Indians guarded from base alloy that gold which they received in such plenty from all quarters of the known world, will be evident from the following severe law, which may be given as a striking specimen of the unrelenting aspect of Hindoo justice.

" The seller of bad grain for good, or of good seed placed at the top of the bag, to conceal the bad below, and the destroyer of known land-marks, must suffer such corporal punishment as will *disfigure* them;" as, for instance, depriving them of their eyes or hands. P. 283.

" But the most pernicious of all deceivers is a goldsmith, who commits frauds; the king shall order him to be *cut piccemeal with razors*." Ibid.

The duty of a Bice, or merchant, is thus summarily recapitulated towards the close of chapter the ninth:

" Of gems, pearls, and coral, of iron, of woven cloth, of perfumes, and of liquids, let him well know the prices both high and low." P. 287.

“ Let him be skilled likewise in the time and manner of sowing seeds, and in the bad or good qualities of land; let him also perfectly know the correct modes of measuring and weighing.” Ibid.

“ The excellence or defects of commodities, the advantages and disadvantages of different regions, the probable gain or loss on vendible goods, and the means of breeding cattle with large augmentation.” Ibid.

“ Let him know the just wages of servants, the various dialects of men, the best way of keeping goods, and whatever else belongs to purchase and sale.” P. 288.

A RETROSPECTIVE VIEW TAKEN OF THE
GRADUAL PROGRESS OF THE INDIAN AND
OTHER ORIENTAL NATIONS IN SHIP-BUILD-
ING, WITH STRICTURES ON THE FORM
AND EQUIPMENT OF THE ANCIENT VES-
SELS.

I HAVE already observed, that the great rivers of India, as well as the vast number of them, intersecting the country as they do in
every

every possible direction, and many of them at certain seasons of the year, like the Nile, overflowing their banks, and fertilizing the soil, must very early have had the effect to make the Indians acquainted with the art of navigation, especially as it was on the banks of those rivers, as well on account of superstitious motives as for the convenience of inland commerce, that the first Indian cities were erected. Their first efforts in this way were, doubtless, confined to voyages up and down the Ganges and Indus, and their vessels, probably, consisted of that kind of boats, made of great canes or reeds, or, as we call them, bamboos, which grow plentifully on the banks of the large rivers, and in the fens and marshes of India, and with which, closely compacted together, and probably covered, like those of the old Britons, with raw hides, according to Diodorus Siculus, the Indian monarch, whom the Greeks have recorded under the name of Staurobates, formed a fleet, to the number of four thousand, to oppose the fleet of Semiramis on the Indus.* In this engagement,

* See Diod. Sic. lib. ii. p. 95, and Suidas ad Vocem Semiramis.

however, the former was unsuccessful, and the reason seems to have been, (for I am inclined, under certain limitations, to admit the fact of such a battle having taken place, though reported by the fabulous Ctesias,) that the Assyrian sovereign had engaged her Phœnician subjects, who were more expert mariners than the Indians, to build that fleet, and direct its operations against the unpractised enemy.

Of the ships that composed this fleet, after all, no very magnificent idea can be formed, since it was built in detached pieces on the coasts of Cyprus, Syria, and Phœnicia, and transported thence, on the backs of camels, to the Indus; and with respect to the reed-constructed boats, covered with leather, so often mentioned above, as belonging both to the old Britons and Indians, with whatever contempt we may look upon them, they were certainly the only ones made use of by all nations, except the adventurous maritime race of Phœnicia, during the early periods of the world. We have no account of any others being anciently used in the rivers of Ethiopia, Egypt, and the Sabæan Arabia; and it is on this account Virgil assigns to Charon, the infernal

fernal ferryman, a boat made of materials of the same kind:

————— *Genuit sub pondere cymba*

SUTILIS. —————

Æneid VI. 414.

In truth, these boats themselves were a great improvement on the simple floats, composed of rafts bound together with thongs made of the sinews of animals, that formed the first transports. They were built hollow to resemble the canoes, which, consisting of the trunks of trees, excavated by fire, served to convey the primitive race of men, as the larger floats did their articles of barter. Hides, doubtless, hardened and prepared with great care, served as a sheathing to these vessels, and over all was probably spread a coat of rosin, or pitch, more firmly to secure them against the penetration of the water. The Greeks, at least, we know were accustomed to fortify the outside of their vessels with pitch, mixed with rosin, which gave them a dark appearance, and hence, in Homer, they are uniformly denominated *μελαιναι*, or black. The Romans in succeeding ages improved on this practice, and set the first example to posterity of sheathing

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ing vessels with metal, though this fact is not generally known ; but I shall present it to the reader on the authority of Mr. Lock, who, in his History of Navigation, prefixed to Harris's Voyages, informs us as follows: " Leo Baptisti Alberti, in his Book of Architecture, lib. v. cap. 12, has these words: But Trajan's ship having been weighed out of the lake of Riccio, at the very time while I was compiling this work, where it had lain sunk and neglected for above thirteen hundred years; I observed that the pine and cypress of it had lasted most remarkably. On the outside, it was built with double planks, daubed over with Greek pitch, caulked with linen rags, and over all a sheet of lead fastened on with little copper nails. Raphael Volaterranus, in his Geography, says, this ship was weighed up by the order of Cardinal Prospero Colonna. Here we have caulking and sheathing together above sixteen hundred years ago; for I suppose no man can doubt that the sheet of lead nailed over the outside with copper nails was sheathing, and that in great perfection, the copper nails being used rather than iron, which, when once rusted in the water

water with the working of the ship, soon lose their hold, and drop out."

A race constantly residing on the banks of rivers, who were possessed of such vast extent of sea-coast, and who, probably, in part, supported themselves by fishing, could not fail of observing both in what manner and with what agility the tenants of the watery element urged their way through that element. The remark of Pliny, therefore, that their fins suggested to them the first notion of oars, and the tails of birds, with which they viewed them direct their flight through the pathless air, the use of the helm,* is founded in reason and probability. The attempt to collect the aid of the winds, by expanding a sail, to accelerate their progress on rivers, and in creeks, must, at first, have proved a hazardous, and, in many instances, a fatal, experiment. But, in this instance, the same analogical deductions operated upon them as in the former, and from observing how the feathered tribes, by expanding their wings, and catching the full gale, were borne along through the fields of æther, they learned to give the same aid to

* Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. xii. p. 551.

their ships, gliding through the trackless water. The resemblance of a ship with sails to monstrous birds, with their pinions extended, infected the minds of all the ancient poets and mythologists, and in this fancy we find the origin of all the fables relative to griffins and hippo-griffins; to the winged dragons of Tiiptolemus, and the flying steed Pegasus, the offspring of Neptune: these were only ships with out-spread sails, in which the daring adventurers sailed on their respective expeditions, and astonished by their naval exploits an ignorant and credulous age.

In the infancy of navigation, indeed, no ships had more than one mast and one large sail; but convenience, added to increasing experience, brought into use a variety of both, whose respective names are recorded by Schaffer,* but which need not be recapitulated in this place.

In the progress of this investigation hitherto, the extreme remoteness of the æra, reaching up to the birth of man and the dawn of science, has prevented any attempt to fix the precise period in chronological history to

* Schæfferus de Militia Navale, lib. ii. cap. 2.

which

which the different improvements in nautical science, civil and military, belonged. But since, by some authors of repute, the fleet of Semiramis has been considered as the first naval effort, and it is certainly one of the earliest recorded on the page of history, it becomes necessary to state, with as much certainty as we may be able, that period. And here we cannot conceal our suspicion that the æra assigned to that invasion, in Usher's Chronology, is much too low in the annals of the world; and the mistake has, probably, arisen from there having flourished several Assyrian sovereigns, who bore that celebrated name. According to that chronologer, this memorable event took place about the twelve hundredth year before Christ, which approaches very near the period assigned, by Sir William Jones, to the collecting into a regular code the Institutes of Menu. But those Institutes represent the Indians as a nation already well skilled in maritime affairs, and report cases adjudged relating to adventures at sea. On that account, the more ancient date seems to me to be preferred, which places the event back five centuries nearer the flood. In truth, the Argonauts had performed their celebrated expedition

pedition half a century before the first-mentioned æra, and the Trojan war had already proved the occasion of bringing out the most formidable collective fleet that had yet sailed upon the ocean, consisting of near twelve hundred sail, of all shapes and dimensions; though it must be owned those who navigated them exhibited but little dexterity in nautical concerns; advancing very slowly in their progress, and never daring to venture far from the shore. Sesostris, too, it should be remembered, that Sesostris, who is said to have flourished above 1600 years before Christ, had long previous to this period, if Diodorus Siculus* may be credited, built, on the Red Sea, a fleet of four hundred ships, for the purpose of conquering the maritime regions of Africa, and subjugating India. The immense vessel, also, of cedar, two hundred and eighty cubits in length, decorated with golden ornaments on the outside, and beautified with silver within, which the same prince dedicated to Osiris, supposing there to be any basis for the story, argues no mean proficiency in naval architecture, by a race whose superstitious notions

* Diod. Sic. lib. i. p. 51, 52.

rendered them in general hostile to marine enterprizes. It was the invariable aim of this monarch, through a long and glorious reign, to conquer the violent averſion of the old Egyptians, towards engaging in ſea-concerns; and he ſo far prevailed as to eſtabliſh among them an order of mariners. Theſe vaſt undertakings, however, were certainly above the ſkill of a people only beginning to cultivate nautical ſcience, and we are irrefiſtibly led in this inſtance, alſo, to conclude, that, in carrying them on, they had the aid of thoſe Phœnicians who inhabited Idumæa and the regions of the Mediterranean coaſt neareſt Egypt.

In the courſe of ages, and in the progreſs of ſcience, the Indians, taught by experience to provide veſſels adapted to war as well as domeſtic uſe, would naturally improve in the art of ſhip-building, and either by exerting their own lively-inventive genius, or by copying the Phœnician models, would ſoon learn to fabricate veſſels capable of ſtemming the ſtormy billows of even the Arabian Gulph, the utmoſt limit of their maritime excuſions ſouthward. For ſhips of ſuperior magnitude, ſtrength, and burthen, they certainly did not want in the extenſive foreſts of India abundant

dant materials, especially in those which bordered on the rivers Hydaspes and Indus, and from which Alexander, in later ages, cut down the immense quantity of timber necessary to build the fleet of above two thousand sail, in which Nearchus performed his celebrated voyage through the Persian Gulph, and up the Tigris, into Mesopotamia.

Concerning the exact shape of those ancient vessels, it is impossible to write with any certainty; but it will probably excite in the modern mariner no small degree of surprise, to be informed of a circumstance, which, however, is confirmed by the unanimous voice of classical antiquity, that the first vessels fabricated by the human race were of a round form; and Bochart contends, that the ship *Argo*, being the first long ship ever used on the ocean, was thus denominated from *Arco*, a Phœnician word, signifying *long*.* The same author informs us, that the navy of Tyre consisted of two sorts of vessels, the one being round ships, which they denominated *Gauli*, the other long ships, or galleys, which they termed *Triremes*, or ships of three banks

* Bocharti *Sacr. Geograph.* p. 819.

of oars, supposed to be of their invention. Of these, in battle, they placed the long vessels in the centre, while the round vessels formed the wings of the fleet. In truth, the first ships were built round, or rather oval, because they were intended merely as transport-vessels and ships of burthen, and that form allowed ampler space for the stowage of provisions and those curious mercantile commodities which were the objects of mutual barter between the inhabitants of Oriental countries. The transport-vessels were generally towed along the great rivers with cords, as is the case at present in most countries where there flourishes any considerable inland navigation; the ships of burden were chiefly managed by sails, while those of war, for the convenience of more swiftly tacking about during an engagement, and approaching an enemy on the weakest side, were generally rowed with oars. Not that these latter were wholly destitute of sails, but in that infancy of navigation, when men were less dexterous in the use of sails than oars, the former were often an incumbrance, and sometimes, in tempestuous weather, or on a boisterous sea, were even the occasion of disaster and defeat. The Indians, whose obsti-

nate adherence to old customs and maxims, however wrong and ridiculous, has been more than once animadverted upon, have not probably so far deviated from the maxims of their ancestors in ship-building, but that we may perceive in the present form of the junks that traffic along the coast of the Peninsula and the neighbouring ports of the Indian ocean, which are huge unsightly fabrics, almost as broad as they are long, a tolerable specimen of their ancient manner, and they are evidently built in the style of ships intended, by their capacious hold, to carry considerable quantities of stores.

In reality, the mercantile race of India had never any idea in the construction of them beyond their commercial use, nor ever intended them for longer voyages than at the most to the Gulph of Ormus and the Red Sea. It was the Phœnicians, and their colony of Carthage, who, being obliged to defend from Grecian and Roman invaders their valuable trade and extensive dominions, carried to the utmost point of attainable perfection, in those early times, the art of constructing and navigating vessels, whether commercial or warlike. By them, the ancient sails, which, in many instances,

stances, were made of nothing but hides, sewed together, were exchanged for more flexible ones of linen, and the leathern thongs, or cords, used for bracing them and various other purposes, for others of hemp and flax. By them, too, the old clumsy anchors, which sometimes consisted only of a large stone, and sometimes of a log of wood, with a quantity of lead affixed, or a bushel of sand, let down to stay the course of the ship, were displaced for anchors of iron, having at first one, and afterwards two, teeth, or flukes. It is a circumstance too much connected with our present subject to be omitted, that, according to Scheffer, cited before, the Portuguese, at their landing on the coast of Malabar, actually found the first species of rude stone anchor in use among the inhabitants of Calicut, while their vessels themselves were flat-bottomed, had one mast, with one triangular sail, and were, in general, of the burden of two hundred tons. With respect to the merchant-ships used at this day by the Indians for the purpose of carrying on their export-trade, they are mostly built of TEEK, a firm lasting species of timber growing plentifully on the mountainous regions of Malabar, and their cables and

other cordage are made of the fibres of the nut of the cocoa-tree. Indeed, the whole vessel is frequently formed of planks cut out of that tree, and the reader may see an account of the building of one of this sort, by Marco Polo, who visited India in the 12th century, inserted at length in the *Anciens Relations* of M. Renaudot, who, from authentic sources of information, adds, that this useful tree not only “affords materials wherewithal to build a ship, but to load her also when she is finished. The great planks of the trunk serve for her hull and masts; with the filaments or fibres of the nut, they spin the cordage and the sails; and they caulk her with the coarser stuff, and the oil extracted from the tree. They load her with nuts, both green and dry; and of the liquor they draw from them, which is very pleasant and sweet, if not kept too long, they make a kind of cream, comfits, butter, and an excellent oil for wounds.”* This tree is a native of the regions that lie within the confines of the torrid zone, both of the Eastern and Western world, and the Indians of the Maldives very ingeniously employ the filaments of

* *Ancient Accounts of India and China*, in the notes, p. 20.

the same nut in making shirts, short vests, and other articles of light apparel.

They use in their rivers, and in landing goods from foreign vessels, large flat-bottomed boats, whose sides are five or six feet high, the planks of which are very thin, and sewed together with their cordage; yielding like pasteboard, if they should happen, as is frequently the case, to strike against the shallows of the shore; for which reason the English employ them in preference to their own boats.

To return to the consideration of the progress of the Phœnicians in ship-building. Those, who invented the triremes, would, in course of time, naturally proceed to the formation of quinquiremes and galleys of a still greater number of banks of oars, but it was left to their ambitious and daring rivals of Greece and Rome to build such floating mountains as were the galleys, concerning which something will be said hereafter, of thirty, forty, and even fifty, banks of oars; nor can we form any conception how it was possible to navigate them to any purpose of utility. These orders, or ranks of oars, were ranged, one above the other, not directly or

perpendicularly, as some have absurdly imagined, but rose by a gradual ascent, each at the back of the other, from the lowest to the highest region of the vessel. To prevent attrition from constant use, the blade, or broad part of the oar, was generally covered with plates of brass; but, as this addition would naturally have the effect to render the long oars used in the highest range extremely ponderous in the water, it was customary to put lead into their handles, by way of counterbalancing them. It was also the custom of the ancients to fortify the prow, that important part of the ancient vessels, on the strength of which so much depended, with brass; and Suidas even intimates, that those used by Semiramis against the Indians were thus armed;* a circumstance which, if credible, fully accounts for her superiority over the numerous but cane-constructed barks of her enemy. For to these prows were fastened rostra, or beaks, (still preserving the allusion to birds of prey, whose beaks, or bills, are their principal weapon of offence,) and these were generally fabricated of solid brass, sometimes to the

* Suidas in Voce Semiramis.

number of ten, whence Æschylus gives to Nipper's ship the epithet *δεκαμυβος*, *ten-beaked*. With the strong sharp points of these beaks, which protruded considerably beyond the prow, under the water, they assailed, and broke in pieces, the hulls of the enemy's ships, while a shower of darts and javelins annoyed the crew from above, and those other terrible engines of destruction used on board the ancient vessels, and enumerated by Scheffer, the *δελφιν*, or dolphin, an immense ponderous mass of lead or iron, cast in that form, and thrown with violence into the vessel with intent to sink it; the *αρπαγες*, harpagines, or vast iron harpoons, for penetrating and rending it, the great naval ballista and arietes, or machines for hurling stones and battering their sides, and the long scythe-like instruments used for cutting their sails and cables, all acting together, contributed to render a naval conflict in ancient, scarcely less tremendous than in modern, periods. Although sails are here mentioned, yet, as we before observed, it was late before they were brought in to the aid of navigation, and later still when they came to be made useful in marine engagements, from the ignorance of the ancients in the mode of

rightly managing them, at a moment when mismanagement must infallibly have been attended with defeat and ruin. Ships, provided with oars only, were, therefore, at first, used on these occasions, but at the same time, to render them more under command, and that they might more easily tack about in an engagement, they were furnished with two, three, and even four, rudders, a circumstance alike perplexing to the comprehension of the modern mariner: of these, two were affixed to the fore-deck and stern; and the other two to the sides. These early engagements also necessarily took place near that shore from which they dared not venture far by day, and close to which, at night, they were accustomed to anchor, till the Phœnicians, applying astronomy to the purposes of navigation, began first to undertake nocturnal voyages, and steer their course, after the same manner as the Arabian and Syrian merchants had long directed theirs through the sandy deserts of their respective countries, by the light of certain brilliant constellations, whose strong and constant lustre invariably pointed out the polar regions of the heavens. Then it was that they boldly expanded the various sail,
and,

and, by long and diligent observation, becoming acquainted with the trade-winds that blow periodically in the equatorial regions, united in one centre the trade of distant nations, and were enabled to barter the tin of Britain for the gold of Ophir and the pearls of India.

THE ANCIENT COMMERCE CARRIED ON BY
THE GREEKS WITH INDIA AND BRITAIN
DETAILED.

AFTER taking the preceding view of the trade of India, one of the greatest and most populous empires of the world, the eye of the historian of Asiatic commerce is, by the course of time and events, directed to Attica, a country so very contracted in its limits, as scarcely to contain two hundred and fifty square miles, and in respect to population, so little to be compared with the former, that its native inhabitants, at no period, exceeded fifty thousand, independent of its slaves, which were indeed disproportionably numerous, but are not to be ranked in the class of citizens. Small, however, as were its limits, and naturally barren as was
its

its rocky soil, the republic of Athens produced fleets so numerous and powerful, as acquired for it the supreme dominion of the ocean; and armies, whose invincible energy subjugated to its control the most puissant sovereigns of Asia. The recollection of the military glory and the love of freedom that exalted this distinguished nation, its unrivalled renown in the noblest walks of genius and science, and indeed the very names of a long series of celebrated statesmen, heroes, and philosophers, unavoidably kindle in the mind that takes this retrospective survey, an ardent desire to launch into nobler disquisitions than those which merely concern their commerce: that commerce, however, being the only allotted subject of this discourse, we must steer through it with the undeviating accuracy of the Grecian pilot, nor be tempted by the fascinating splendor of any foreign subject to wander from our course. I must, notwithstanding, take permission, previously to the succeeding strictures, of repeating my former assertions in respect to the Greeks not being the inventors of the arts and sciences for which they were so celebrated, though, doubtless, they surprisingly and rapidly improved those,

those, the principles of which they originally received from their Oriental neighbours, as, for instance, astronomy, chemistry, and navigation ; while all the more elegant and liberal arts, painting, sculpture, music, and designing, may justly be called their own. In truth, the light, which beamed upon them from the Higher Asia and from Egypt, was reflected from Greece upon Europe ; they were the focal point in which the rays of Oriental genius were concentrated ; at the same time they were to us the medium through which those rays were transmitted. We were awed by their majestic beauty ; we were dazzled by their transcendant lustre ; and mistook the *reflected* for the *primordial* beam.

Cecrops, who, according to Diodorus Siculus,* with a colony of Egyptians inhabiting the Saitic mouth of the Nile, and therefore *mariners*, and an exception to the generality of the Egyptians who shrunk with horror from sea-adventures, migrated hither so early as the year 1600 before Christ, doubtless brought with them such general elements of the science of navigation as were then known

* Diod. Sic. lib. i. p. 33.

in the infant world; and we learn from the same author, that, when he founded the monarchy of Attica, (for Attica, though in succeeding ages a republic of the first note in history, was at first a monarchy,) that prince divided the people into four distinct tribes, called Cecropis, Autochton, Actea, and Paralia, in which he acted with remarkable conformity to the maxims of the Indian and Egyptian legislators, who thus divided the nations over whom they respectively ruled. Nearly a century afterwards, Danaus sailed into Greece from the same quarter, and seized on the throne of Argos; while Minos, the great legislator of Crete, the similitude of whose name and laws to those of the great Menu of India has been remarked by Sir William Jones,* had a numerous navy on the Cretan sea. Numerous, however, as it was, it must still have been very inadequate to any useful purpose of defence or commerce, since Dædalus, whom the Greeks, in a well-known mythological fiction, have recorded as the first inventor of sails, was not then born. Their grand and united effort, the Argonautic expe-

* Institutes of Menu, in the Preface, p. 9.

dition,

dition, did not take place till about 1150 before Christ. The disputed object of that expedition is out of the question; it is sufficient to remark, that it was the first ship equipped for war that sailed out of the ports of Greece; and in those days the voyage to Colchis was a subject of scarcely less celebrity than the discovery, in more recent periods, of the voyage to India by the Cape of Good Hope. The consequence of that expedition upon the maritime genius and efforts of all the Grecian states was such, that, in less than fifty years, they were able to furnish twelve hundred ships, of all descriptions, to carry on the war against Troy; and of that number the Athenians alone, according to Homer,* furnished fifty vessels.

With the destruction of Troy expired that ardor of naval enterprize, which had begun to distinguish the rising republics of Greece; an additional proof of its having in great part originated from a foreign source, the immediate impulse of which upon their minds having ceased, their conduct was of course no longer influenced by it. No grand naval exploit of

* Iliad, lib. ii. v. 94.

that nation is, for several centuries, recorded on the page of history : their mariners, during this long interval, were either dispersed among the vessels of the Phœnician merchants, or piratically infested that element on which the daring nautical genius of the former engrossed the traffic, and disdained a rival.

The ruin of the elder Tyre, near the commencement of the sixth century before Christ, by the Assyrian monarch Nebuchadnezzar, called forth into action the dormant ambition of Athens, to possess the palm of commerce and the sovereignty of the ocean. Their progress, however, in navigation, was necessarily slow, from the infant state of astronomical science among them, since, as yet, they only knew to steer the course of their vessels by the stars in *Ursa Major*; a most uncertain guide in remote and hazardous voyages, since that constellation very imperfectly points out the pole, and the stars in its extremities are at the distance of above forty degrees from it. It was not till Thales, the inventor, according to the Greeks, of the asterism of the Lesser Bear, had returned from Egypt, that they became acquainted with, and were able to sail by, the unerring light of the pole-star. That philosopher

sopher brought with him the grand postulat-
 tum, together with many other splendid at-
 tainments in science, from the caverns of the
 Thebais, about the middle of this century,
 and proved to Greece what the Cynosure was to
 navigation; the guiding star of its expanding
 genius. From that instant her naval glory
 began to dawn, but it was not till after the
 invasion of Greece by Xerxes, and the final
 annihilation of the Tyrian empire by Alexan-
 der, that it reached its meridian. The Athe-
 nians were not without rivals in the contest
 for maritime dominion; the indefatigable race
 of Ægina, and the voluptuous, yet mercantile,
 sons of Corinth, long combated their claim
 to that enviable distinction; till, at length,
 the former being subdued by the Athenian
 arms directed against them by the immortal
 Pericles, and the latter having called in the
 same power to aid them against the Spartan
 army, which, under the command of Agesilaus,
 had laid siege to their sumptuous metropolis,
 the Athenians became triumphant on the
 ocean; and, closely pursuing the track of the
 Phœnician vessels, displayed the banners of
 Greece on the shores of the Cassiterides and
 in the Gulph of Cambay.

Before,

Before, however, I proceed to state the particulars of the flourishing trade carried on by this enterprizing people with those remote regions, it is necessary I should notice two events, in producing which the Greeks were greatly instrumental; events of great importance as to their consequence on the commerce and kingdoms of the East, but principally relative to those of Egypt and Persia, to whose history therefore I must, for a short period, direct the attention of the indulgent reader.

CURSORY REFLECTIONS ON THE LIMITED NA-
VAL CONCERNS OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTI-
ANS AND PERSIANS.

I HAVE not hitherto, in any particular manner, mentioned the maritime concerns of the ancient Egyptians nor yet of the ancient Persians, for, in fact, neither of those nations were greatly addicted to nautical adventures. The former were prevented from becoming so by their abominable superstition, which led them to consider the ocean, probably from some faint traditions relative to the deluge, as the enraged Typhon, the restless enemy of the

the benign Ofiris. I have, however, already observed, that Sesostris, 1600 years before Christ, had endeavoured to conquer this rooted aversion of the Egyptians to naval enterprises; that he contrived to have a fleet of four hundred ships of war on the Arabian Gulph, and that he instituted among his reluctant subjects a marine class. Their deeply-rooted religious prejudices were, doubtless, one, but not the only, cause of their aversion to the sea and foreign trade; for, happy in their own genius, and in a most fertile soil, the ancient Egyptians, like the modern inhabitants of Japan, were internally rich in every thing necessary to their happiness and convenience; and, except minerals and some particular gums consumed in religious rites and in embalming the dead, wanted not the luxuries which foreign commerce introduces. Not that they were entirely destitute of that species of commerce, but they suffered other nations, more addicted to nautical concerns, to be their factors and agents. Able as they were, from their situation, to command the whole navigation of the Red Sea, they relinquished the natural right of their country to the more adventurous Tyrian and Idumæan mariners;

and were content to receive, through their hands, the Arabian incense that burned in their temples, and the Indian drugs annually swallowed up by the rapacious jaws of the catacombs. For these they bartered the emeralds of the Thebais; the fine glass, fabricated from the ashes of the celebrated plant *kali*, at the great Diospolis, in which city the manufacture of this article rivalled, if not exceeded, the antiquity of those of Sidon; the *natron* that grows so abundantly in that country, and even at this day supplies the shops of European druggists; the paper formed from *the reed of the Nile*, from which its name is derived; the linen woven from the flax of Egypt; and, above all, the corn, which may be considered as the staple of that country, and grew there in such luxuriant abundance, as through all antiquity caused Egypt to be considered the granary of the world.

In return for these articles the Phœnicians gave them OIL, which was ever the abundant produce of the olive-groves of Syria and Palestine; and this, it will be remembered, was one of the articles with which king Solomon repaid the kindness of the Tyrian monarch, in furnishing him with cedar and cypresses for building

building the superb temple of Jerufalem: the Scripture expreffly mentioning the former's annual prefent of *twenty thoufand meafures of wheat and twenty meafures of pure oil*: the oil they exported to Spain and other countries, but the infular fcite, the vaft population, and contracted territory, of Tyre, required not lefs the grain of Syria than that of Egypt for the fupport of its innumerable citizens. They alfo imported into Egypt that timber of which her own foil could not furnifh even the fmall quantity ufed in her public and private edifices; the various fragrant productions of the Arabian and Indian gardens; and the precious metals of which the lower Egypt was wholly deftitute; the principal among which may be enumerated the gold of Sofala, the filver of Spain, and the TIN of Britain. I particularize this laft article, becaufe, independent of the great advance of the Egyptians in metallurgy, (and tin, it has already been obferved, is mentioned in the Pentateuch of Mofes, learned in all the wifdom of the Egyptians, and in the writings of Homer,) we meet, in ancient claffical writers, with very ample and repeated testimony, that the Egyptians, in the glafs-houfes of Diofpolis, knew

how to fabricate mirrors of stupendous magnitude; and, though hence it does not absolutely follow that these mirrors should be of TINNED GLASS, yet the use to which they applied, at least, two of these mirrors, affords very strong reason for that supposition; since, if composed of any metalline substance, the situation in which they were placed must unavoidably have exposed them to obscuration or corrosion. One of these mirrors, according to Strabo,* was elevated on the summit of the great temple of Heliopolis, *or the city of the sun*, to reflect into that temple the full splendor of its meridian beam; while another of still more prodigious dimensions was, in later periods, erected on the Pharos of Alexandria, and so placed as to reflect ships approaching Egypt at a vast distance, and imperceptible by the eye from its loftiest pinnacle.

Unwearied as were the exertions of Sesostris, recapitulated above, they were only the transient efforts of an enlarged and liberal mind, spurning at and trampling down vulgar prejudice; those vessels were, in all probabi-

* Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 492.

lity, provided with their rigging, cordage, and other furniture, and navigated, by the Phœnicians. With that prince the project of extending their power by foreign conquest expired; and all ideas of the necessity of keeping up a powerful navy seem to have been erased from the minds of his more politic successors on the throne of Egypt. If such, however, had not been the case, there was one insuperable objection to their maintaining any considerable navy; I mean the above-mentioned total want of timber proper for its construction and repair, of which the whole country was so entirely destitute, that even the boats on the Nile were obliged to be fabricated either of baked earth glazed and varnished, or of rafts sewed together with the papyrus. Happily for the Egyptians, the views of those pacific princes were solely directed to the establishment of a vigorous internal commerce between the respective provinces of that fertile kingdom; to constructing canals for the more equal distribution of the waters of the Nile; and raising stupendous bulwarks to secure the Delta from being a second time desolated by the ravages of the robbers, known to us by the name of the Scenite dynasty, a race

whose recorded barbarities evince them to have been the most unfeeling tyrants that ever governed the oppressed progeny of Mizraim. In consequence of this relapse of the Egyptians into their ancient prejudices, no port remained open on all the coast of Egypt for the admission of foreign vessels for nearly a thousand years, except Naucratis, a most celebrated mart, 'situated not very remote from Sais, then the capital of Lower Egypt, and which gave its name to one of the mouths of the Nile. It was Psammetichus, the first of that name, who, rejecting the contracted policy of excluding strangers from Egypt, threw open its ports to all nations, and gave a firm settlement to his allies, the Greeks, who were so instrumental in fixing him on the throne of that kingdom.*

In respect to the Persians, they were equally restrained, by the precepts of religion and policy, from engaging in maritime expeditions. The element of water, not less than that of fire, was the object of their superstitious veneration, and while that superstition made them shudder at the idea of polluting it them-

* Herodotus, lib. ii. p. 163.

selves, by any species of filth, thrown from vessels, the dread of invasion from a quarter in which they were so defenceless, induced them to prohibit the entrance of foreigners into their dominions, by any maritime inlet, under penalties extremely rigorous. Indeed, to render that event impossible by the channel of their two great rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, they effectually dammed up the mouths of those rivers with immense engines; to remove which cost Alexander, when his fleet, under the command of Nearchus, failed, by the route of the Persian Gulph, into Mesopotamia, no small portion of time and labour. At length, roused to a sense of danger by the accounts brought to the court of Persia of the naval armaments fitted out by the rising states of Greece, their dauntless and aspiring neighbours, the Persian sovereigns, broke through the fetters of that ancient superstition, and, by the assistance of the Phœnicians, and even the Greeks themselves, constructed a navy, and ploughed the forbidden ocean. In this new project, ambition also had a considerable share, and it was a desire of exploring and conquering the western provinces of India, that induced Darius to fit

out at Caspatyra, on the Indus, the fleet so celebrated in history, of which he gave the command to Scylax, a Carian Greek, with express orders to sail down the current of that rapid river; diligently to observe the countries that lay on either side of it; to enter the great ocean beyond it; to coast along the Persian and Arabian shore; to enter the Red Sea by the Straits of Babelmandel; and, finally, sailing up that Gulph, to land in Egypt, and by that route return to the capital of Persia. This tedious, and, for those days, hazardous, navigation, Scylax successfully accomplished in the thirtieth month from its commencement, and, arriving at the court of Susa with the desired intelligence, animated that monarch to an undertaking which added so much lustre to his crown, and brought so large an increase of revenue into his treasury. It will scarcely be expected, after the ample astronomical detail exhibited in the former portion of this volume, that a circumstance so remarkable, as that of the revenue thus acquired amounting to 360 talents, the exact sum of the days of the ancient year, should be omitted being noticed in this place; more particularly, as it is an undeniable proof of the

Persian

Persian year being not at that time reformed. It is probable, that, in this expedition of Darius into India, he learned from the Brahmins the true number of the days of the reformed year; since, in the pompous march of Xerxes, to dispute the empire of the world with Alexander, the number of youths clothed in scarlet robes, the emblem of the solar fire, arranged with a view to the same mythological superstition, was three hundred and sixty-five.* It should be also remarked, that this tribute from the newly-conquered province of India was paid in gold, while that of all the other Satrapies was paid in silver; and that the Indian tribute alone, according to Herodotus, amounted to 4680 Euboic talents, nearly a third-part of the whole revenue of his other dominions, which was 14,560 Euboic talents, or 2,807,437*l.* sterling.† The reason of its being paid in gold rather than silver is properly assigned by Rennel, from the Ayeen Akbery, that “the Eastern branches of the Indus, as well as some other

* Herodotus, lib. ii. p. 189, and Quintus Curtius, lib. iii. cap. 3.

† Hérodoteus, lib. iii. p. 288, et seq.

streams that descend from the northern mountains, anciently yielded gold-dust.”* The value of the ancient talent varied extremely in different countries of Asia; if the Indian tribute was paid in Euboic talents of gold, it must have amounted to an immense sum, and far greater in proportion than the other nineteen provinces into which the Persian empire was divided. We must not, however, suppose the larger sum mentioned above to have been the total of the revenues of Persia, for many of the distant kingdoms, subject to that throne, paid their tribute in kind; as for instance, that of the Satrap of Armenia, according to Strabo, was twenty thousand young horses, while the governor of Arabia, the country of aromatics, furnished that luxurious court with frankincense equal in weight to a thousand talents.†

Independent of the damming up the mouths of their great rivers, other impenetrable barriers against the entrance of strangers on the side of the sea, and the establishment of a maritime commerce, were eagerly sought after by the

* Rennel's Memoirs, p. 25.

† Strabo, lib. ii. p. 530.

jealous policy of the Persian monarchs, who, in order to render their country still more secure from invasion, were induced to leave utterly uncultivated the southern region of the province of Gedrosia, naturally barren, and scorched up by the beams of an almost direct sun. Along the whole of this extensive coast, and the southern parts of Carmania, which stretches from the Indus quite to the Persian Gulph, no city was, in those days, to be seen; no friendly port opened its broad arms to the storm-beat mariner: it was left in the possession of enemies more hostile to the human race than even the inhospitable savages of the dreary Æthiopian coast, the blast of pestilence, and the desolating fury of famine. It was in those desert regions that the armies of Semiramis and Cyrus perished, and that Alexander lost three parts of his numerous and triumphant troops. Of its maritime limit, by far the greater part was an unpeopled desert, and of the inhabited parts, a miserable race, who subsisted on fish and the plunder of wrecks, afforded to occasional visitants a dreadful specimen of the sterility of the country and the barbarity of the natives. By these precautions the Persian sovereigns not
only

only prevented the Phœnician, Carthaginian, Grecian, and other formidable naval powers, from penetrating by that route into the heart of Persia, but kept sacred from the intrusion of foreigners that vigorous and peculiarly lucrative commerce, which had been immemorially carried on between the more northern provinces of their empire and those of India, and which, in this survey of the ancient commerce of Asia, is highly deserving our attention.

In the geographical part of this work, vol. i. chap. 3, when speaking of Candahar, a city said to have been erected by Alexander, in all probability on the site of one still more ancient, and to have been so denominated from his Eastern name of Secander, I observed, from the Ayeen Akbery, that, being situated on the mountains of Paropamisus, which separate Persia from India, that fortress has, in all ages, been considered as the gate of Hindostan towards Persia, as Cabul was towards Tartary; and I added, from Sir William Jones, that, according to the Indians, no person could properly be called ruler of India, who had not taken possession of Cabul. It was through these gates that the current of a
most

most extensive traffic in all the various produce of the three empires continued to flow in those early periods, and probably centred at the great and ancient city of Lahore, on the Rau-vee, the noblest branch of the Indus, and the favourite residence of the early kings of India, of which also the reader will find, in the second chapter of the same Dissertation, a minute description from authentic writers. Whichever of the great Indian cities was at that time the capital, Delhi, Canouge, or Pali-bothra, (for in those ages we must not mention Agra, then only an obscure mud-walled fortress,) the direct road to it lay through Lahore, and we can alone be enabled to form a just idea of the importance and value of its commerce, by reflecting that two of the most splendid and luxurious courts that Asia ever witnessed, Babylon and Persopolis, successively obtained, by this route, those sumptuous articles that contributed most to their magnificence. In ages of such remote antiquity as that in which the Assyrian monarchy flourished, unless we allow a very intimate commercial connection to have subsisted between that empire and India, we are at a loss to account for that profusion of wealth and pomp that decorated

decorated their palaces, the infinity of gems that glittered in the superb temple of the Syrian goddess, and the aromatic gums that eternally flamed on her altars.* An enumeration of a part of those riches may be seen in the Appendix, and though they might obtain from Arabia and Syria many precious woods and drugs, together with gold and ivory, brought by the ships of those nations from the continent of Africa, yet there were many valuable commodities in the highest request among them, as silks and embroidery, which the Persian had not then begun to manufacture, together with curious porcelain, and vases of agate and chrystal, which could not possibly be obtained through that quarter. It is more than probable, that those great trading nations, in the remote periods to which we allude, supplied themselves at Babylon and Susa with the Indian manufactures, transported thither, by caravans, through the northern Carmania and Aria, the modern Herat.

* See Diodorus Siculus on the Palaces of Babylon and the Temple of Belus, lib. ii. p. 97. — See also Lucian *De Syr. Dea*, cap. 32 and 33. — And Chardin on the Ruins of Persepolis, tom. ii. p. 150.

What Cabul and Lahore were in India, the great city of Hecatompylos, in Parthia, or the city with a hundred gates, so denominated, according to Polybius,* because all the roads in the Parthian dominions, centred there, was in ancient Persia; and it is a remarkable fact, that the modern city of Ispahan, supposed to have been erected on its ruins, according to Tavernier, stands exactly in the same predicament as the great central mart of modern Persia.† He adds, that at present it has ten gates; that the road, generally travelled by the caravans passing into India, is from that capital to Candahar,‡ of which he gives the respective stages and their distances; and that this route is principally used on account of the great plenty of water to be met with in the course of it. From Candahar to Cabul, he acquaints us, is a journey of twenty-four days; from Cabul to Lahore takes up twenty-two; and from Lahore to Delhi eighteen; but that the merchants, when their business is urgent, quit the caravans, and take horses, ten

* Polybius, lib. x. cap. 25.

† Tavernier's *Persian Travels*, p. 149.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

or a dozen in company, and ride the whole journey in about a third of the time in which it is performed by the caravans. As in the dreary and inhospitable tracts that form the boundaries of the Persian empire towards India, the face of nature, since that period, is not changed, and as water is so indispensable an article to a caravan, the description of the road and stages by this modern traveller is, in all probability, applicable to the period when the ancient caravans travelled this road, to which the asserted building of Candahar, by Alexander, can be no valid objection; for it is unlikely that a post, so important as to be called the Gate of India, should have been without a fortress to secure and defend it. As the long and beaten track of a caravan in an inland Eastern country is seldom deviated from, so possibly the mode of arranging and conducting the caravans themselves is not so greatly altered, but that our author's description in one of his journeys to India may afford to the European reader a tolerable idea of the regulations anciently established among them, I shall transcribe from his entertaining page the principal circumstances enumerated during

during their progress. It is in Tavernier's Persian Travels, page 48, of the London folio edition; but is too long for insertion here, and I want the room it would occupy for an extract more interesting to the Indian reader.

With respect to those numerous caravans, consisting of loaded waggons, which we have seen, from the Institutes of Menu, are so universally established in India, for the transportation from city to city of the native and inferior productions of Hindostan, the intelligent author above-mentioned, who resided so long at Agra and Surat, acquaints us, that this species of internal commerce is carried on almost entirely by means of oxen yoked to the wain, in more or less numbers as the wains themselves are more or less heavily laden. Sometimes they use the animal itself for that purpose, without the waggon; and he adds, it is not unusual for them to lay upon the back of those oxen 300 or 350 pounds weight. " It is an admirable sight to behold ten or twelve thousand oxen at a time all laden with rice, corn, and salt, in those places where they exchange these commodities; carrying corn where only rice grows, rice where only corn

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grows, and salt where there is none at all. They make use of camels sometimes, but very rarely, they being particularly appointed to carry the luggage of great personages. When the season requires haste, and they would speedily convey their merchandize to Surat to ship them off, they load them upon oxen, and not in wains. There is this great inconvenience for travellers, that when they meet with these numerous caravans in strait places, they are forced to stay two or three days till they are all past by. They that drive these oxen follow no other calling as long as they live, nor do they dwell in houses; for they carry their wives and children along with them. There are some among them that have a hundred oxen of their own, others more or less; and they have always one, who is their chief, that takes as much state as a prince, and has his chain of pearl hanging about his neck. When the caravan that carries the corn and that which carries the salt happen to meet, rather than yield the road, they frequently enter into very bloody disputes. The Great Mogul considering one day that these quarrels were very prejudicial to trade, and the transportation of necessary provisions
from

from place to place, sent for the two chiefs of the caravan, and, after he had exhorted them, for the common good and their own interest, to live quietly together, and not to quarrel and fight when they met, gave to each of them a lack of roupees and a chain of pearl.

“ Of these carriers, there are in India four distinct tribes, each of which may consist of a hundred thousand souls. The first of these tribes carries nothing but corn, the second rice, the third pulse, and the fourth salt, which they fetch from Surat, and all along down the coast as far as Cape Camorin.

“ The caravan of waggon's seldom exceeds the number of a hundred, or two hundred at most. Every waggon is drawn by ten or twelve oxen, and attended by four soldiers, whom the person that owns the merchandize is obliged to pay. Two of them march upon each side of the waggon, over which there are two ropes thrown across, the extremities whereof they hold in their hands, to the end, that, if the waggon should lean on one side in ill way, the two soldiers on the other side may

keep it from overturning, by pulling the ropes with all their strength.”*

After considering the general route of the caravans passing from the capital of Persia to the capital of India, we come, in the next place, to inquire what were the principal commodities mutually exchanged, in the ancient times concerning which we treat, by these two mighty nations. As the light of history, at least so far as the Persians are concerned, (for, we are well acquainted with what, in all ages, have been the imports and exports of India,) is on this subject but feeble, from the remoteness of the æra, we must be guided in our researches by examining the natural history of that country, and the bent of the genius of her inhabitants; of what articles she stood most in need, and with what she could best dispense.

The vast empire of Persia, then, in its various regions, exhibited to the beholder a strong contrast of objects. Some of its provinces were arrayed, by the hand of nature and the labour of man united, in the charms of a terrestrial paradise, abounding with flowers,

* See Tavernier's Indian Travels, p. 28.

plants,

plants, and fruits, of exquisite beauty, brilliancy, and flavour. In particular, they produced grapes of the choicest kind in luxurious plenty, of which they made variety of wines, with which the ancient Persians were not denied to regale themselves, as their Mahomedan descendants are, and one of transcendent excellence is still known to us by the name of Schiras wine. It was in allusion, probably, to the multitude of its vineyards in those ancient periods, that the golden bed of Darius was adorned with the stock of a vine in gold, whose expanded branches, containing clusters of jewels, rubies, emeralds, and amethysts, intended to represent grapes both green and in their various advances to maturity, over-canopied the recumbent monarch.* The pomegranates, also, of Persia are acknowledged to be the largest and finest in the world; and the predilection of their ancestors for this species of fruit is attested by history and the grand monuments of Chelminar, or *forty pillars*, which are crowded with stupendous hieroglyphic sculptures, many in the form of this vegetable; while the historic page recording the

* See Athenæus, lib. xii. p. 408.

magnificent march of Xerxes towards Greece,* informs us, that ten thousand of the Persian infantry, who seem to have formed his body-guard, bore javelins decorated with pomegranates; of whom one thousand had that symbol in gold, the other nine thousand in silver. The Persian melons and dates, too, are without a rival in Asia; and, from what has been said, it may fairly be inferred, that these choice wines and delicious fruits, both pickled and preserved, to which may be added a great variety of medicinal drugs indigenous to Persia, were brought by her caravans to the famed emporia of Cabul and Lahore.

Other provinces of Persia, especially the more elevated regions towards the north, exhibited a prospect as cheerless and barren as the former was animated and fertile; where the disgusted eye and the weary foot travelled over immense deserts of scorching sand, unsheltered by one solitary shrub, unrefreshed by one irriguous stream. Their inmost recesses were the gloomy, but secure, haunt of the savages of the desert. The intrepid youth of Parthia, however ardent in the chase, dared

* See Herodotus, lib. vii. p. 328.

not pursue the lion or panther to that frightful abode; and often the benighted camel, though patient of fatigue and thirst, expired beneath its load in their inhospitable bosom. The fortitude and industry of man, that shrunk from the danger of exploring the surface of those cheerless wastes, had yet penetrated with success their subterraneous regions. However externally barren and rocky those Hyrcanian solitudes, they were internally rich in mines; and, though the metals dug from them were not of the most precious kind, being principally iron and copper, yet were they easily exchanged for them among their commercial neighbours of Arabia and Syria. The quantity of iron produced in their country supplied their numerous forges employed in the manufacture of swords and scimitars, celebrated through Asia for the excellency of their temper and the keenness of their edge. In those ancient times, too, when it was the delight of warriors to clothe themselves in mail, and shine in arms of steel or burnished brass, which is formed of mingled calamine and copper, we cannot doubt of the important advantage, in point of commerce, arising to the Persians, from the mineral

wealth of their country; nor that these and other articles of military request, the helmet, the buckler, the javelin, formed a considerable part of their ancient barter with the Indians, a nation, one of whose four grand tribes was, from early youth, wholly devoted to martial concerns.

Among the various articles enumerated as imported from Persia in after-ages into the Roman state, are reckoned Babylonian and Assyrian skins; and the incessant and politic attachment of the Parthians to the *pleasures*, or rather, as it was their custom to hunt only the most ferocious beasts, the *toils*, of the chase, must infallibly have secured them immense spoils of this kind, — and the most valuable of these, the tiger's, the leopard's, the panther's, swelled the catalogue of the commodities transported to Cabul. It was not, however, alone the skins of dead animals in which the Persian merchants dealt: the caravans that carried these were followed by droves of living animals, reared with care in the wide campaign of that extensive country. The Persian breed of horses, whether for war or state, was more famous in antiquity than that of Arabia is at this day; especially that magnificent species

species bred in the Nisæan plains of Media, which were deemed inestimable. Horses, therefore, with their splendid caparisons and steely armour, formed another important branch of this vast traffic, and brought immense sums into the royal, as well as private, treasuries. They bred also mules and camels both for domestic and foreign sale ; nor should the fine stuffs made of the camel's hair in Carmania, nor the still finer wool of that province, be wholly forgotten. Lastly, the bows and arrows, which they fabricated and used with so much skill, could not fail of being vended in large quantities to a nation nearly as dexterous in the use of those weapons as themselves. For these, the Indians gave them the peculiar fruits of their own genial region ; all kinds of precious stones ; unwrought silk, brought from the Seres beyond the Ganges, together with cotton and fine linen, the labour of their own looms ; aloes, spikenard, and other perfumes ; the expressed juice of the sugar-cane, which then grew so plentifully in India, that they fed their horses with it, as they do at this day in Berar ; the indigo of Lahore, anciently the staple of that city, absolutely necessary to the Persians, as it was the
basis

basis of their famous BLUE, which they used, and still use, in dyes; and all the rich variety of gums and spices produced in the peninsular regions of India.

From very remote periods, also, a considerable commerce seems to have been established between the countries situated far to the north and north-west of the fertile provinces which we have been describing with Grand Tartary, and even China itself, under the name of Serica, or the silk region.* For that silk, the cabinets, porcelain, and other rich and useful manufactures of China, so often and minutely enumerated before, *were* and *are* still bartered the most valuable furs and the finest ermines of the northern Asia, the musk of Thibet, and Siberian rhubarb, both the best of their kind in the world. It should not be forgotten, that the more northern provinces of Persia itself, Hyrcania, Margiana, Bactria, were formerly full of great and flourishing cities, whose inhabitants with avidity purchased the richest manufactures of India and China, brought to them by this route; while, still farther north, the isthmus,

* Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. xxi. cap. 3.

which

which separates the Caspian and Euxine Seas, was covered with cities and nations now utterly exterminated. To be more particular, Eratosthenes, in Strabo,* informs us, that the merchandize of India passed by the Oxus through the Caspian, which the ancients, with inflexible obstinacy, persevered in supposing to have a communication with the Northern, and some even with the Indian, Ocean, into the Sea of Pontus. We also learn from Pliny, that it was but a journey of seven days from the frontiers of India, through the country of the Bactrians, to the river Icarus, which falls into the Oxus, down which stream the commodities of India were transported into the Caspian Sea. Thence, he adds, they were carried up the river Cyrus to a place within five days journey over land to Phasis, the capital of Colchis, in Grecian fable renowned for its golden fleece, which, in all probability, was nothing more than the golden produce of India, which the Argonauts secured by opening the commerce of the Pontus Euxinus, or Black Sea.† At this day, the Oxus no longer

* Strabo, lib. ii. p. 87.

† Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 17.

flows into the Caspian, the miserable policy of the modern Tartars having induced them to divert its course, as well as that of the Iaxartes; and these two noble rivers are now lost and swallowed up in the sands of that boundless desert. Colchis itself, whose splendid and crowded marts allured to that region of Asia all the nations of the earth, is now only a vast forest, and its few inhabitants are not only slaves themselves, but carry on the horrid traffic in human flesh to a vast extent. The Russians are now in complete possession of this northern commerce, which is carried on, by caravans, over the deserts of Siberia, that enter the Chinese territories by Selenginskoy, in the 52d degree of north latitude; and Europe with astonishment has witnessed a traffic maintained between the capitals of two great empires, situated from each other at the immense distance of above six thousand miles. It is, perhaps, a fortunate circumstance for Western Europe that astonishment is the only sensation, at present, materially excited; for should Russia be fully enabled to accomplish her ambitious aim to be a great naval power, and take that entire advantage which she seems determined to embrace

brace of the vast opening afforded her by the port of Astracan, in the Caspian, for the importation into the heart of her dominions of the richest commodities of Persia and the East-Indies; other sensations of no very pleasing kind will probably be excited, when she beholds one of the most powerful potentates of the earth possessed also of its richest commerce. The channels by which this trade may be conducted are well known to her geographers; are the subject of constant and increasing speculation; and, we may depend upon it, that with such a vigorous, enterprising, and arbitrary, power as Russia, who possesses all the means of effecting her projects, nothing is wanting to its complete establishment but tolerable tranquillity restored to the distracted empires of Persia and Hindostan.

To return from this long, though necessary, digression on the commercial concerns of Egypt and Persia to our survey of the Athenians, we shall scarcely wonder at their being more addicted to nautical adventures than any other of the states of Greece, if we recollect that the abrupt and rocky surface of their country denying to its inhabitants the advantage,

tage, so amply enjoyed by the Indians, of navigable rivers and canals, for carrying on a vigorous internal traffic, their attention was, of necessity, principally directed to maritime commerce. Still, however, their ships made not the same majestic appearance as those of the Phœnicians did; nor were they directed with the naval skill of that nation. Shipwrecks were frequent, and insurance, as well as speculation, frequently ran as high on the exchange of Athens as ever they have been known on that of London. In reality, the Euxine, the Ægean, and other seas,—seas of such inferior magnitude, that the Mediterranean was comparatively the ocean to them,—which were principally navigated by the early Greeks, were so dangerous from shallows, and so subject to the agitation of tempests, that, whatever might be their ambition to rival the Tyrians and Carthaginians, they were compelled in general both to employ vessels of less magnitude, and load them with cargoes less valuable than those nations; though in their more distant voyages, to India and Britain, they must of necessity have made use of larger vessels. An account which we have in Xenophon, in his *OEconomica*, of a Phœnician merchant-

merchant-vessel, then in the port of Piræus, in which the dimensions of that vessel are compared with those of Greece, is an unanswerable confirmation of this statement. In truth, the Athenians were not accustomed to traffic in commodities of any very great bulk or weight; theirs, except in some particular instances, was a trade in articles of elegance and luxury. Their exports consisted of a great variety of rich wines, conveyed, however, in vessels of very inferior magnitude to those in which are transported to Britain the wines of Portugal and the Madeiras: those vessels were either made of leathern bags, strongly sewed together, resembling the modern borachios, or consisted of jars, considerable in size, of which there was a celebrated manufactory established at Athens, for the express purpose of conveying abroad the curious produce of the Grecian vineyards. Their extensive groves of the plant sacred to Minerva, also, enabled them, not less than the Phœnicians, to drive a considerable trade in the purest oil; to which may be added, the valued honey and wax of Mount Hymettus. The Athenian merchants, also, exported to Asia, covetous of her rarities, all those inimitable

table productions of her artists in statuary, painting, metallurgy, and every branch of mechanic science, which rendered Greece so renowned; and, finally, the rich silver mines, with which Attica was stored, afforded her the abundant means of carrying on an extensive traffic in that precious metal with India, a country, whose avarice for that commodity, after twenty centuries, is still as insatiable as ever. The principal imports of the Athenians were grain from Sicily and the adjoining isles, for the support of the numerous inhabitants of their crowded metropolis; slaves in astonishing multitudes were also constantly imported by a nation, boasting its love of liberty, to work in those mines, to labour at the oar in their numerous gallies, and do that species of servile drudgery which they conceived degrading to *freemen*. From India, their vessels, in return for the silver of Sunium and the copper of Colonos, of which their admirable works in bronze were fabricated, brought the precious gems and spices native to the Peninsula; the fine and delicate muslins which the ancients called *Sindones*, and which were transported, across the Gaults, in waggons, from the Eastern coast of that Peninsula, and from Hindostan
proper,

proper, to Barygaza; and the sugar, indigo, and dyed cottons, brought down the Indus to Patala; from Persia and Arabia they imported brocades, carpets, and the various rich drugs, perfumes, and cosmetics, of which the unbounded extravagance of the Grecian courtezans, and, we may add, the degenerate effeminacy of the men, called for constant and abundant supplies.

To secure and protect this extensive and valuable commerce, the Athenians constantly maintained, in the three basins of their grand port of Piræus, a very powerful fleet; and the perpetual contests, in which they were engaged with the maritime states around them, failed not to keep alive their martial spirit, and gradually improve, beyond even Phœnician excellence, their naval skill.

After this general view of the Grecian marine and commerce, it is high time that we should attend them to the British coast for that TIN, without which a nation of artists and manufacturers could not possibly carry on their respective occupations. It was absolutely necessary to the chemist, the glazier, the painter, the enameller, the gilder, the potter, and entered largely, as before observed, into

several other branches of domestic trade. It formed the ground of that wonderful specimen of the skill of the ancients in engraving and working in metals, the shield of Achilles, described by Homer, from whom we also derive another proof of the early traffic of the Greeks in this commodity; for, in the *Odyssey*, he introduces Minerva, in the disguise of a stranger, affirming herself to be a foreign merchant, going to Temese to explore TIN for the purpose of exchanging it against IRON.* The probable period of the first arrival of the Greeks, as traders in these islands, may be justly inferred from the passage previously cited from Herodotus, in which he confesses, that the Greeks of his day (and Herodotus flourished about the middle of the fifth century before Christ) were ignorant of those northern extremities of Europe, whence amber and tin were brought, that is, the shores of the Baltic and Britain.† The profound secrecy which the Tyrians and their colonies preserved in regard to the British isles, and their tract hither, has been also no-

* *Odyssey*, lib. i. verse 182.

† See before, page 429.

ticed,

ticed, and affords additional testimony that we ought not to assign for that event a period more early than the destruction of Tyre, by Alexander, and the subsequent subversion of the Persian empire; events that roused the dormant ambition of Greece widely to expand both her military and naval fame, and explore the most distant quarters of that globe to which they aspired to give law.

The term *Cassiterides*, however, which was before observed to be a Greek translation of the Phœnician *Baratanac*, and by which the Scilly islands and the Cornish coast were, in fact, known to the Greek traders, a term used both by Herodotus himself, and Strabo afterwards, undeniably proves, that, though not yet geographically described, or commercially visited, accident or curiosity must have led Grecian vessels to our coasts before that æra; for how otherwise should the Greeks have given name to an island of which they were in total ignorance? How, on the other hand, could the Greek characters and language have been known, and upon all occasions in which their religious rites and mysterious discipline were not concerned, made use of by the Druids, as is expressly affirmed in Cæsar's *Commen-*

taries, unless a long and intimate connection had previously subsisted between the two people? The truth is, there was another channel by which that language might have come into use, at least in the maritime ports of Britain, and that was by way of Massilia, now Marseilles, to which mart we have already observed a *commerce in tin* was anciently carried on, through the heart of France, by British and Gallic merchants, in connection with the Phœnicians, and, on their decline, with the Carthaginians and Greeks. Now Massilia was founded, according to Solinus,* by the Phœceans six hundred years before Christ; and, being a Greek colony, having the Greek manners, talking the Greek language, and being the only mart in that part of the Mediterranean for the tin of the Cassiterides, it can excite no wonder if, in the course of so many centuries, with the commodities brought back from Marseilles, the merchants imported also the language of the place, especially as we learn from Strabo, that, in his time, the Gallic inhabitants of Massilia and its neighbourhood were assiduous in cultivating every branch of

* Solinus, cap. viii.

Greek literature, and were so attached to the Greek language, that not only academies were instituted in that city for teaching it to their sons, but that the merchants wrote their contracts and made their bargains in it.*

It is rather singular, that so profound an adept in British antiquities as Camden should fix the earliest visit of the Greeks to these islands at a period not more remote than about one hundred and sixty years before the arrival of Cæsar, under a certain Phileus Taurominites, when there is so plain an allusion to this island in that passage alluded to before in Diodorus Siculus, citing Hecataeus, a still more ancient writer, relative to the hyperborean island *opposite Gaul*, whose priests sang the praises of Apollo upon their harps in circular temples, and that Pytheas, a celebrated astronomer of Marfeilles, is reported by Strabo not only to have visited, but to have described, these hyperborean isles. The voyage of this learned Greek, I am of opinion, will give us nearly the exact period when the navigators of that nation first ploughed the British ocean; for, it was about the period of Alexander the

* Strabo, lib. iv. p. 231.

Great, when that philosopher is said to have passed through the Straits, and to have failed to so high a degree of north latitude, as to have seen the sun only for a moment of time sink below the horizon, and then emerge; a fact, which, by astronomical arguments, may be proved possible to have taken place about the 68th degree north, where, in the summer, and when the sun is in Cancer, there is no night.* That Britain, at all events, must have been explored, and the principal commodities trafficked in by its inhabitants have been in great request in Greece, when Polybius flourished, which was above two hundred years before Christ, is evinced by a fact recorded in Strabo, that the same Polybius had written an express treatise *περί των Βρετανικων νησεων και της κασσιτηρα κατασκευης*, concerning the British islands, and the process of making TIN; and this word *Βρετανικων*, thus early occurring in a Greek writer, may be considered as an additional testimony of the name being originally derived from the Phœnician Baratanac, or Bretanac, since, from the Phœnician navigators only, could they have obtained any

* Diodorus Siculus, lib. v. p. 308.

information about it.* It is unfortunate, that this treatise of Polybius, which probably contained many curious and interesting particulars relative to these islands and our ancestors, has not descended to posterity. Pliny's assertion, also, ought here to have some weight, that, long before the period in which the Romans visited this country, Britain was famous in Greek monuments.† Whatever truth there may be in that assertion, few vestiges of the Greeks were ever to be met with in these islands, and the arguments which some writers have founded, on the number of Greek words interspersed in the old British dialect, lose their force when we consider their affinity with the Celtic, the common parent of both. The Greeks did not come hither to improve our language or correct our taste; they formed no settlements on the coast, nor penetrated into the inland parts of the country; they came hither as mariners and merchants; they took our tin and lead for the Indian market, and gave the Britons articles of cutlery and other wares

* Strabo, lib. iv. in loco cit.

† Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xvii. cap. 4.

suit to the wants of a warlike and barbarous people.

The destruction of Tyre and Carthage threw the whole commerce of the Mediterranean into the hands of the Athenians; for, their rivals, the Lacedæmonians, principally studious of military glory in the embattled field, had but little inclination to engage in naval concerns. Their discriminating character, however, of ferocious bravery, added to an insatiable thirst of wealth, did not permit them to be wholly without a navy, which was, for the most part, employed in acts of barbarous aggression on their peaceful neighbours. The nautical genius of the Athenians, however, still soared with a bolder flight, and having a dynasty of Grecian monarchs on the throne of Persia, and also another dynasty on that of Egypt, they soon arrived to that astonishing height of naval splendor, which they enjoyed for nearly three hundred years, the most brilliant æra in the annals of Asia, at the close of which the power of the Seleucidæ, in Syria, and of the Ptolemies, in Egypt, became extinguished by the SUPERIOR LUSTRE OF THE RISING SUN OF ROME.

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Robert Earl of Harborough

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